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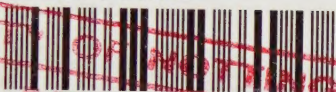
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STRIKING EVENTS IN IRISH HISTORY

BY

C. F. DOWSETT

AUTHOR OF "WILL ENGLISHMEN LET ATHEISTS MAKE THE LAWS WHICH
ARE TO GOVERN THEM?" "OATH OR AFFIRMATION," "QUIT YOU
LIKE MEN," "DON'T DISESTABLISH, BUT REFORM,"
"FACTS TO EXPEL DOUBTS," ETC.

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PREFACE.

THE object of this book is to assist the circulation of facts respecting the past and recent history of Ireland, with a view to promoting a more intelligent public opinion upon what is called the "Irish Question." Many persons only read the papers favourable to a "Home Rule" policy, and such papers often contain statements of a very misleading character.

The chapters entitled "The Conspiracy" and "The Revival" are taken from that popular work of Mr. Trench's, "Realities of Irish Life," which is published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., and by whose kind permission they are included in this book.

Some valuable information in this book has been extracted from the "Speakers' Handbook on the Irish Question," published by the Liberal Unionist Association, 31, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W., price One Shilling, post free. Each passage is acknowledged on the page containing it, and appears by the kind permission of the Liberal Unionist Association.

For the facts referred to in this Record of Events I am indebted to the works of Mr. Froude, Mr. Collier, Macaulay, J. R. Green, Tacitus, the "Times," Lord Robert Montagu, Mr. Trench's "Realities of Irish Life," "Personal Sketches" by Sir Jonah Barrington, "The Papacy of Modern Times," "Which Sovereign: Queen Victoria, or the Pope?" by Dr. Wylie, "The Speaker's Handbook," "Hansard," etc., etc.

C. F. DOWSETT.

3, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,
LONDON, 1890.



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STRIKING EVENTS IN IRISH HISTORY.

TRADITION, 1499 B.C., AND ANCIENT HISTORY.

THERE is blamable ignorance on the part of Englishmen of Irish history. We went into the shop of a leading London bookseller the other day, and asked the principal for a History of Ireland, and found that we might almost as well have asked for a History of Siberia. He said that he could get a history for us, but no one wanted them—in fact, he added, “people are sick of Ireland.” “Exactly so,” was our reply, “but Ireland remains, nevertheless, and is part of the Empire, and is close to us.”

People take very exaggerated views of Ireland; some say that the only remedy is to sink it twenty-four hours under water, while others affirm that it has been grossly misgoverned and cruelly oppressed. Yet when specific cases of oppression are asked for, the speaker is absolutely silent.

We start with this statement, that not only the Irish, but the English, Scotch, and Welsh can refer to the oppressions which they have had to endure from Governments, feudal lords, and persons in authority, and it would be just as reasonable for Englishmen to complain

in the present day of France having inflicted wrongs on them by the Norman invasion, as for Irishmen to charge England with an invasion and despotic subjugation.

Tradition says that in 1499 B.C. (which carries us back in the history of the world to the time of Moses, the leader of the Israelites), the Clan Milly from Spain invaded Ireland; they were descendants of Millya or Milesius, King of Spain, who had married Scotta, the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt.

The first historical fact in Irish history is that a Spanish invasion of Ireland took place before the Christian era. Strabo, the geographer, writing about 50 B.C., described Ireland as a cold land, inhabited by cannibals. Julius Cæsar called the island Hibernia, and Tacitus, in his "Life of Agricola," states that an Irish chief implored the aid of the Romans in 82 B.C.

The passage from Tacitus (Böhn edit., vol. 2, page 368), is as follows:—

"In the fifth campaign,* Agricola, crossing over in the first ship,† subdued, by frequent and successful engagements, several nations till then unknown; and stationed troops in that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland, rather with a view to future advantage, than from any apprehension of danger from that quarter. For the possession of Ireland, situated between Britain and Spain, and lying commodiously to the Gallic sea,‡ would have formed a very beneficial connection between the most powerful parts of the empire. This island is less than Britain, but larger than those of our sea.§ Its soil, climate, and the manners

* The year of Rome 835, A.D. 82.

† Crossing the Firth of Clyde, or Dumbarton Bay, and turning to the western coast of Argyleshire, or the Isles of Arran and Bute.

‡ The Bay of Biscay.

§ The Mediterranean.

and dispositions of its inhabitants, are little different from those of Britain. Its ports and harbours are better known, from the concourse of merchants for the purposes of commerce. Agricola had received into his protection one of its petty kings, who had been expelled by a domestic sedition; and detained him, under the semblance of friendship, till an occasion should offer of making use of him. I have frequently heard him assert, that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient entirely to conquer Ireland and keep it in subjection; and that such an event would also have contributed to restrain the Britons, by awing them with the prospect of the Roman arms all round them, and, as it were, banishing liberty from their sight."

A map of Ireland was prepared by Ptolemy about 120 A.D., which showed the principal capes, rivers, towns, and tribes. About the year 229 B.C. is regarded by Teernah, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, the greatest of Irish chroniclers, as the commencement of authentic Irish history, when Ultee, or children of Ir, held Tailtan, in Westmeath, as the centre of their power. In 119 B.C., a military order was founded by Rurie More, a descendant of Ir, called the Red Branch, because they had branches of a red colour embroidered as a symbol on their banners. The principal man of this tribe was Coohtoolin, King of Dundalk, for Ireland in those days was cut up into tribes, just as Europe in this day is cut up into kingdoms. In 64 B.C., Awrd-Ree was king of a tribe called Clanna Dega; another king of this tribe was Conary More, surnamed the Beautiful, who was killed near Dublin in 3 B.C.

The Christian era was ushered in in Ireland by a revolt of the lower orders, who overthrew the Milesian monarchy, massacred kings and nobles at a feast in Connaught, and raised their Plebeian leader, Cairbry the Cathead, to the

throne. However, in 130 A.D., a man named Toole, a descendant of the Milesian line, recovered the throne. He took a part of the four then existing kingdoms, and formed the central kingdom of Meath.

About this period we read of "Feenians," who were a permanent national military force, comprised of mercenaries from Leinster, Munster, and Connaught (but not from Ulster), who assumed a troublesome ascendancy in Irish affairs.

Ireland was then divided by a road formed right across it from Dublin Bay to Galway. The northern was called Conn's Half, the southern Moa's Half. Conn went to war with Moa, and was assassinated at Tara by conspirators disguised as women.

One of the most renowned of the early monarchs of Ireland was Cormac, a grandson of Conn, who founded three schools at Tara and caused the Psalter to be re-edited. About 266 A.D. he retired into private life to prosecute a course of study.

A century of dim confusion followed.

In 378 A.D., Criffan was poisoned by his sister, that her son Brian might have the throne, which, however, was secured by her stepson Niall, who warred in Scottish Dalriada, in Western Britain, and in Gaul, and was murdered by one of his own soldiers near Boulogne. From Niall sprang the O'Neills. In 406, Dahy, who succeeded Niall, also ravaged Gaul, and was killed by a flash of lightning at the foot of the Alps.

Druidism existed in Ireland, but differed from that practised in England. The Irish Druids did not offer human sacrifices, but *they practised cremation.*

SAINT PATRICK.

THE famous Saint Patrick landed in Ireland 432 A.D., four years after Layary, a son of Niall, became King of Ireland.

It is uncertain whether Patrick was born in Scotland or in France, but his mother's name was Conchessa and his father's Calpurinus; at the age of sixteen he was brought from France by Niall, as a captive, who kept him for six years as a swineherd, when he escaped to France, somehow acquired a good education, and returned to Ireland and founded a church at Gaul. He was fiercely opposed by the Druids, and preaching before King Layary, at Tara, he was instrumental in the conversion of two of the King's daughters. He founded the Cathedral of Armagh about 445 A.D., and some accounts affirm that he planted 365 churches and monasteries. He died in 465 A.D., and was buried at Downpatrick.

The Irish may well be proud of St. Patrick, for according to Mr. Collier he laid the foundation of a mighty work; for Ireland, then known as Scotia, became christianised, and for 200 years—600 to 800 A.D.—was the splendid centre and source of whatever learning and civilization existed in Europe during the dark ages. Large schools were founded, and in one—in Down—3000 monks resided.

In 506 A.D. a second emigration of Scots took place under Lorne and Fergus, sons of Erc, and Ireland was then known as Scotia Major, and Scotland (previously called Alba) became known as Scotia Minor. St. Bridget, a female disciple of St. Patrick, died about 525 A.D.

Many of us, who have toured in the beautiful western islands of Scotland, remember the islet of Iona, with its

ancient ruin of a church, which we are told was founded by St. Columba, and where he died in 597 A.D. This Columba, otherwise known as Columcille, but whose original name was Criffan, extended a great influence for good by preaching the gospel over both Ireland and Scotland at this period. He must not, however, be confused with a certain Columban, who about the same period was born in Leinster, but went to the continent and founded an abbey in Burgundy and a monastery in Italy.

About this time Ireland was kept in constant turmoil, not from without, but from within, for a seven days' battle was fought near Down, between the O'Neills of Ulster and the men of Down and others, and then for a long period the Northern O'Neills and the Southern O'Neills (originally one family), kept up a continual warfare, when in 675 the Southern O'Neill gained the crown. Thus, when left to themselves, there were constant internal wars. In A.D. 684 Ireland was invaded by Egfrid, the Saxon king of Northumbria, who carried off many slaves and much booty, and for a century following, Irish history is very confused. The country was much troubled by battles, and Leinster, especially, suffered by invasions for the exaction of tribute.

INVASIONS AND BREHON LAWS.

INVASIONS and wars were the rule in these early times, and Mr. J. R. Green tells us, in his "History of the English People," that in the 5th century after Christ the one country which bore the name of England was that which is now called Sleswick, in that part of the Peninsula which divides the Baltic from the Northern Seas—that these English chieftains, who were pagans, invaded Thanet in 449, took fortresses, seized the road to London, and

won a battle in the village of Aylesford, thus commencing the conquest of Britain, which was wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare, and that then Britain had become England, a land belonging not to the Britons (its former owners), but to Englishmen. For a century the English were known to the British as "barbarians," "wolves," "whelps," "hateful to God and man"—yet they survived it and held the country. These were troublous times in England; slavery as bad as that which existed thirty years ago in the Southern States of America existed then in England; fathers sold their children, and even their wives, as slaves when pressed by need, and slaves in England then were regarded simply as cattle or chattels: they had no place in a court of justice, and no one to avenge their wrongs.

These English were, of course, Germans, and when England (previously known as Britain), became christianised by the missionaries from Rome, Canterbury became the earliest royal city of German-England. Presently brighter times prevailed, and in the reign of Eadwine originated the old English proverb, "A woman with her babe might walk scathless from sea to sea in Eadwine's day."

Thus England, as well as Ireland, passed through its early periods of invasion, oppression, and consequent misery. Curious laws existed in ancient Ireland; one was known as *tanistry*, by which a chief's eldest son did not necessarily succeed him, but a successor, or *tanist*, being the ablest man of the family, was chosen by the near relatives. Another law was *gavelkind*, which divided a man's estate equally amongst his sons, and this law is still in force in the English county of Kent. The Judge was called Brehon, and these were called Brehon laws.

Another invasion of Ireland occurred in 795 by the

Norsemen, usually called Danes, people from Denmark and Scandinavia, who were attracted by the wealth of the monasteries. Turgesius, a relative of the King of Denmark, obtained the sovereignty of Ireland in 832, but was drowned by conspirators in 845.

Ireland was then divided into five little kingdoms—Meath, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; but the Irish could never agree, and consequently these five kings were always striving for supremacy, and even sold their services to the Danes, who turned such occasions into great advantage for themselves.

In 976 Brian Borua, King of Munster, drove the Danes from Limerick. Malachy became King of Ireland in 980, and defeated the Danes at Dublin. In 1002 Brian conquered Malachy, and his reign of twelve years is described by Mr. Collier as “splendid.” He made the Danes pay a tribute, which was expended in founding schools, making roads, bridges, &c., and, similar to Eadwine, it is said that in Ireland under Brian, “a beautiful maiden, adorned with jewels and bearing a bright gold ring on her hand, could pass alone through the land fearless of wrong,” so well were the laws obeyed. Oh, for another Brian for Ireland!

TURLOUGH CONTEMPORARY WITH WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

CONTEMPORARY with William the Conqueror of England, reigned Turlough as monarch of Ireland from 1064 to 1086. He was King of Munster, and a descendant of Brian. At this period Ireland endured a thirty years' internal war, which commenced in 1064.

We come now to that very important event which led to

relationships between England and Ireland. In consequence of an internal feud between Ruric O'Connor and Diarmid MacMurragha, Diarmid went to Bristol to get help from Henry II. of England. At this period the Pope of Rome was an Englishman—his name Nicholas Breakspear—his title Adrian IV. (the only Pope of English nationality). Adrian sent Henry II. a bull authorising him to take possession of Ireland. This, however, had not been done; but now, in consequence of the additional incentive of Diarmid's request, an invasion of Ireland was made, just as previously Britain had been invaded by the German-English and others.

Diarmid, now at the head of an army of Anglo-Normans and Irish, gave battle to King Ruric at Waterford, and other places, and Dublin was captured. Strongbow, heir to the Earldom of Pembroke, was one of the English officers who served under Diarmid, whose daughter he married, and on Diarmid's death in 1171 Strongbow assumed the title King of Leinster; but Henry II., recalling his subjects from Ireland, Strongbow, after some victories over Ruric, returned to England, and offered Henry II. all the lands he had won in Ireland.

Henry II. then went over to Ireland, landing near Waterford with a considerable force. After a series of victories he reached Dublin, where he held an English Court and received homage from the Irish chiefs.

Ireland, however, was not really conquered. Ruric O'Connor held aloof, and the chiefs of Ulster would not submit to English rule.

Henry II. left Ireland, granting a charter to the citizens of Bristol, giving them possession of Dublin. He commanded that a castle should be built at Dublin, that it should be the seat of government, and he appointed Hugh de Lacy as Governor of Dublin.

A council was held at Windsor, in England, where a treaty was entered into with Rurie O'Connor, giving him jurisdiction over all Ireland, except what was called the "English Pale," viz., Dublin, Meath, Wexford, Waterford, and Dungarvan, with their appurtenances. The Sovereigns of England were now recognised as Lords Paramount of Ireland.

Rurie O'Connor retired to a monastery in 1183, after a troubled reign of seventeen years. Richard I. of England was so much engaged in the Crusades that he paid little attention to Ireland, which in consequence was in a state of chronic conflict, as it has always been when the law was not administered with a firm hand.

Hugh de Lacy was made Earl of Ulster in 1205, and this, with the broad acres he had acquired, so filled him with pride that he defied his King (John of England), whereupon John crossed to Ireland and seized De Lacy's territory. De Lacy fled to France, where he worked for some time as a gardener, but was afterwards restored.

King John's visit lasted three months, during which time he divided the English Pale into twelve counties—Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Caherlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary.

John's successor, Henry III., granted to his son, Prince Edward, the Kingdom of Ireland; but for some years previous to Henry's death Ireland was again the scene of continual wars.

Edward II. was King of England when Robert Bruce was King of Scotland, and the Irish of Ulster begged the Scottish King to help them against the English. The King of Scotland, desiring to get rid of his brother, Edward Bruce (a fierce, grasping man), sent him to Ireland with a force of 6000 men. A battle was fought:

Bruce was victorious, and was crowned King of Ireland. He then defeated the English Viceroy. The King of Scotland then arrived, and the two brothers marched towards Dublin, but a strong resistance and the existence of a famine obliged King Bruce to return to Scotland (1317). Edward Bruce was killed, and his head sent to Edward II.

THE "DEGENERATE ENGLISH."

A TROUBLE of a domestic nature arose in Ireland in the next reign (Edward III). Some English noblemen, holding official positions in Ireland, had married Irish wives, adopted Irish dress and customs, and were in consequence regarded as the "degenerate English" by their countrymen. Edward III. very foolishly declared that all these persons who possessed no land in England should be dismissed, and their places filled by Englishmen who did own land in England, which created a very bitter feeling, and the new comers were called "the new English."

In 1367 a Parliament of Peers and Commons was assembled at Kilkenny by the Duke of Clarence to repress the "degenerate English" and the native Irish, when it was enacted—

1. That an alliance with the Irish by marriage was to be regarded as high treason.
2. That Englishmen who adopted an Irish name, dress or customs, or spoke the Irish language, should have their estates forfeited.
3. That it should be treason to adopt or submit to the Brehon law. This law we have previously explained.
4. Forbidding internal wars without permission of the English Government.

5. Forbidding the English to allow the Irish to graze cattle on their lands, to grant livings to Irish clergy, or encourage Irish poets.
6. That it should be felony for the chieftains to levy tribute of money, food, &c., for their soldiers and fodder for their horses.

All Englishmen will admit that most of these laws were worse than a blunder; they were oppressive and unjust, and created "bad blood" between the two countries. The so-called "degenerate English" were doing the very thing to consolidate the interests of the two countries; and had their customs been fostered, instead of suppressed, by Edward III., the inter-marriages and other social unities might have laid some foundation of goodwill. But to refer to an act of repression, carried out more than five centuries since, as a justification for the outrages perpetrated in Ireland in the present day, is far more reprehensible in the light of the nineteenth century than was the repressive action of Edward in the fourteenth century.

The men who rake up the blunders or the crimes of history which is ancient, to justify their lawless persecutions and crimes of to-day, deserve the fate of traitors. There is not a country on the face of this planet whose history does not show many instances of injustice which would not stand the light of nineteenth century equity; and if the world were to recognise such reasoning as is adopted by modern agitators, it would be embroiled in an awful moral chaos, of which the issue would be catastrophe.

It was in this reign that deputies were first sent to the Parliament at Westminster.

In the reign of Richard II. those Irish landlords who resided in England were taxed to the extent of two-thirds the annual revenue of the land, or one-third if the King

gave them a leave of absence. Absenteeism is an injury to any country, and it is only just that absentee landlords who deprive their poor tenants of the advantages of a wealthy family in their midst, should contribute more largely to the public expenses in a direct form.

Richard II. visited Ireland twice. He described the people as three races—Wild Irish, Rebel Irish, Obedient English. The period was one of frequent wars in Ireland, and the English Pale was reduced to four counties—Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth.

In the next reign, of Henry IV. (1399—1413), anarchy and wars were the constant order of the day.

Some Irish soldiers served with distinction in the reign of Henry V. in his wars with France. Towards the end of his reign, in 1421, the Irish presented a petition to the King for better government.

John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, a stern soldier, was a prominent actor in the reign of Henry VI. He vigorously repressed the turbulence of the people. A very foolish law was passed by a Parliament which sat at Trim in 1447, to the effect that any person who did not adopt the English fashion of shaving the upper lip should be regarded as an "Irish enemy."

In the Wars of the Roses the Irish were very strong adherents to the cause of the White Rose. Richard, Duke of York, acquired great prominence in Ireland, and in 1449 became practically its King. He received the revenues and appointed all state offices. He conciliated the principal Irish nobles.

During the next three reigns of Edwards IV. and V. and Richard III. (1461—1485), the Wars of the Roses were also carried on in Ireland.

Another Parliament at Trim compelled the Irish to adopt English surnames, and to dress and cut their hair

like Englishmen. The English power at this period had sunk very low.

It has been said that true English history begins with the reign of Henry VII., because after the long civil wars of England the feudal system gave way to better things; so in Irish history this reign marks some important events. One of the most celebrated Viceroys of Ireland was Sir Edward Poynings, who was made Lord Deputy in 1494. He reached Ireland with 1000 soldiers and many lawyers; he passed two Acts through the Irish Parliament which sat at Drogheda, the object of which was to break the power of the great lords in Ireland. They provided that no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the King had been officially apprised of the Acts to be brought forward, and until they had been approved under the Great Seal of England. They also provided for the abolition of certain rates, and that only a small land tax should be paid to the King. The great lords were restricted in the use of fire arms, were to give up Irish war cries, and not to maintain needless kerns. Archery was to be practised. Acts of the English Parliament were to have force in Ireland. The Earl of Kildare and Perkin Warbeck were prominent characters of this period.

The lawless Irish of the West were more subjected in this reign than in any previous one. A great battle was fought near Galway in 1504, where it is said that 9000 of the vanquished perished. The West was now for the first time under the power of English government.

HENRY VIII. AND ELIZABETH.

THE reign of Henry VIII. commenced when the Earl of Kildare ruled Ireland as Viceroy. It was the Viceroy's bad fortune not to please Wolsey at the time of that

prelate's great power, which led to his being imprisoned three times in the Tower of London; but he survived these troubles and accompanied Henry to France, where he attended the "Field of the Cloth of Gold"—a conference.

Ireland was now ruled by sixty Irish chiefs and thirty Englishmen of noble families. Henry entertained some of the leading Irish noblemen at Windsor. A large number of Scotchmen emigrated to Ulster.

The Earl of Kildare was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, but was again accused of treason and sent to the Tower of London, where he died. His son Thomas Fitzgerald acted in his stead, but he, with five of his father's brothers, were subsequently beheaded in London (1537).

The suppression of monasteries, which was carried on largely by Henry VIII., in England extended to Ireland, and the Irish Parliament of 1536 made Henry the head of the Church, and forbade appeals to the Pope.

Henry VIII. was the first English sovereign who assumed the full title of King of Ireland. Ulick de Burgh was created Earl of Clanricarde, O'Brien made Earl of Thomond, and Con O'Neill made Earl of Tyrone.

In this reign Wales sent twenty-four members to the English Parliament, and this was the real union of Wales with England.

In the next reign (Edward VI.) efforts were made to continue to establish the doctrines of the Reformation in Ireland, but when Mary came to the throne, Roman Catholic worship in Ireland was immediately restored. Mary's reign was short, and she was succeeded by Elizabeth in 1558. These three sovereigns, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, were the only children of Henry VIII., and Henry, by a will, made a month before his death, bequeathed the throne to these his children, in the order

of succession, in which they actually, as events turned out, occupied it.

Mary was the child of Henry VIII.'s first wife, Catharine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur.

Queen Elizabeth was true to the principles of the Reformation, and the Acts of Uniformity and supremacy became law in Ireland. Attempts were made to colonize Ireland: Sir Thomas Smith, the Queen's secretary, made the first attempt, but he was killed. The Earl of Essex made the next, and he was killed. Sir Henry Sidney was Viceroy in Ireland thrice (in 1564, 1568, and 1575); he had a plan of local government, and appointed Sir Edward Fitton to be President of Munster, and Sir John Perrott to be President of Connaught, who both exercised their power severely in repressing turbulent septs.

The Pope and Philip II. of Spain sent a force against Ireland in 1579, assisted by Fitzmaurice, a brother of the Earl of Desmond, and Dr. Nicholas Sanders, who acted as papal legate; they were, however, utterly beaten. Desmond was slain in London in 1583, and his estates, comprising half-a-million acres in Munster, were forfeited and allotted to English settlers, called "undertakers," because they undertook to reside on the lands.

Trinity College, Dublin, was founded in this reign. The firm administration of Sidney, and the death of Shane (John) O'Neill, caused Ireland to have peace for twelve years (1567-1579), but after this, Shane's nephew, John O'Neill, who was made Earl of Tyrone in 1587, became a bitter foe to England. He demanded that all church lands should be restored to the Romanists, and every soldier and official expelled from Ulster, which Elizabeth refused. Civil war followed, with terrible consequences—Spanish troops aided the rebels, but in the end (which was a few days after Elizabeth's death), the English got a complete

victory, and thus was completed the conquest of Ireland, which was commenced in the reign of Henry II.

Edmund Spenser, the eminent English poet, went to Ireland as secretary to the Lord Lieutenant in 1580. He received a grant out of the Desmond estates, but in a subsequent rebellion his house was burnt, one of his children perished in the flames, and he died of a broken heart in 1598.

Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," written about 1596, of which Mr. Collier gives an extract, states that in his time (Queen Elizabeth's reign) the Irish septs dwelt apart, clung to the Brehon laws, and did not mix with the English.

The land tenure was generally for life, the chief of a sept holding his land as a representative of the sept, and he went through the formula of standing with both feet on a sacred stone and swearing (when he was elected chief) to preserve the ancient customs inviolate. Tenants were usually tenants at will, paying no fixed rent—their common saying was, "Spend me, and defend me," *i.e.*, "You may take a part of my means if you afford me protection." The native Irish fed cattle on the mountains and pastures, lived in huts, called *boolies*, and moved from place to place, and thus, "cattle lifting," or cattle stealing, was much resorted to.

The Irish of this period wore a thick bush of curled hair, called a *glibbe*, which entirely covered the forehead, and sometimes fell over the eyes. Spenser compares these Irish with the ancient Scythians.

As many of the original holders of land had been dispossessed, they were without means, which caused misery and disaffection; some of the higher order fled to the continent and founded noble families.

The Irish of this period frequently met, Spenser says,

to discuss local affairs, and especially their wrongs; the poorest attended these meetings, and if an Englishman presented himself he was generally assaulted, and sometimes killed.

Spenser devised a scheme for dealing with the Irish who would not submit to English Government. This scheme included a Lord Lieutenant and a Lord Deputy. It proposed that roads one hundred yards wide should be cut through the woods; bridges built across rivers, with gates and gate house; that fords should be rendered impassable; the highways should be forty feet wide and strongly fenced on both sides; wooden castles should be built at narrow passes; that towns should be fortified and provided with gates, to be kept locked at night, and that cattle should be branded to prevent cattle stealing. Travelling was so dangerous that many persons made their wills before taking a journey.

When King James VI. of Scotland ascended the throne of England as James I. of England, there was opposition manifested in the south of Ireland, but Mountjoy's firmness subdued the resistance. In this reign the kingdoms of England and Scotland, being united, were called Great Britain.

Through the lawlessness which had prevailed, and the very strong measures which had been adopted to quell it, including destruction of crops and means of support, there was intense suffering amongst the people of Ireland, and it is said that in Ulster thousands of persons actually died from starvation.

Under Sir Arthur Chichester, improvements were made, the Brehon law was abolished, tanistry ceased, and the English law was established. The Irish chiefs gave up their lands to receive them back with a legal title.

The Government acquired three and a quarter millions

of acres, of which one-fifth, or 650,000 acres, were rich, the remainder barren. The natives were migrated from the rich parts, which, without further explanation, appears to us now a grievous wrong. Land was given to the London Guilds, and settlers from England occupied tracts of land under the conditions that within two or three years they built a castle or house, planted forty-eight able colonists of English or Scotch blood in three years, and resided on the estates for five years.

King James created the title of baronet, which was conferred on appointed gentlemen who paid sufficient money to maintain thirty men in Ulster at eightpence a day for three years. The north of Ireland began to thrive. The Roman Catholics objected to the oath of supremacy, because the penal laws pressed heavily upon them through their refusal to acknowledge it. The land-owners of Connaught in Elizabeth's reign had neglected to get their patents of title enrolled, which caused a flaw in them, and technically reverted to the Crown. They offered to pay £10,000 for a confirmation of their titles, but the negotiation was interrupted by the death of the King in 1625.

In Elizabeth's reign, Philip II. of Spain, a great friend of the Pope, sent an Armada (called "Invincible") against England, with the real object of destroying Protestantism, but the Providence which produced Protestantism also protected it. The "Invincible" Armada was destroyed instead. So in James's reign the Roman Catholics tried, by a diabolical arrangement, to kill the King and the Parliament at one blow, but again Providence destroyed their plans. The Spanish officer, Guy Fawkes, was arrested; his fellow-conspirators fled, but most of them were killed.

Lord Falkland was Viceroy of Ireland when Charles I.

(second son of James I.) ascended the throne of England. Special privileges were granted in this reign called "The Graces," giving security of title to land, free trade, and allowing an oath of allegiance instead of supremacy.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, a baronet of Yorkshire, went to Ireland as Viceroy. He was a man of stern mould but unscrupulous. He held out a hope of confirming "The Graces" by money payments to the King, which was never done. He declared lands in Connaught forfeited to the Crown owing to defective titles, as explained above.

Wentworth, however, did a good thing for Ulster by establishing the linen trade and introducing flax seed and workmen from Holland. He also set up six or seven looms from France as a start. Wentworth was created Earl of Strafford (in 1640), made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but was ultimately executed in London in 1641, about which time the historian says that, "a Catholic conspiracy spread its deadly roots everywhere through the nation."

The "complete restoration of the Catholic Church in Ireland" was demanded, but the King only promised unlimited toleration. A papal legate, Rinucini, went to Ireland and remained there four years. King Charles made promises, which he afterwards disavowed. Ruric O'Moore and Owen Roe O'Neill were celebrities at this period.

THE REBELLION OF 1641.

THE rebellion of 1641 has been characterised as "the gravest event in Irish history." A great conspiracy caused terrible bloodshed. Sir Phelim O'Neill treacherously seized Charlemont Castle, and used the Great Seal

to forge a Commission purporting to be from the King. The scenes of massacre during the winter were really awful; the native Irish rose against the English settlers and loyal Irish in the various "planted" districts, and killed men, women, and children; others were stripped of all their clothing and left to die of starvation and exposure. Shelter was refused, and many naked refugees crowded into the towns. At the lowest estimate, 12,000 to 13,000 were either murdered or died from exposure. This flame of rebellion spread all over Ireland, and the civil war in England between Charles I. and the people prevented his sending an army of repression.

Froude's "English in Ireland," vol. i., informs us that in 1641 the population of Ireland was nearly a million and a half, and he adds: "When left to themselves, the Irish had killed each other down in their perpetual wars, and the children had died for want of food."

Mr. Froude gives many extracts from State papers and other sources. He says: "Thirty-three volumes of depositions are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, which tell the tale with perfect distinctness; and as the witnesses relate one consistent story, they are dismissed by those who are offended by their testimony as imaginary beings, forgers, liars and calumniators."

"During the summer of 1641, history says that the Catholic priests had been busy with their meetings, and in the beginning of October the leading Catholic clergy and laity met to discuss the course to be taken with the Protestant settlers who were scattered over the country. That they must be dispossessed was a matter of course, but whether by death or banishment was undecided." . . .

"A blow struck simultaneously and fiercely over the whole North without a note of warning might crush the English settlement and the English religion at once

and for ever. The priests were ready-made instruments by which such a plot could be organized without a trace of it going abroad."

"The order was to drive them from their houses, strip them—man, woman, and child—of their property, strip them even of the clothes upon their backs, to take such chances of life as the elements would allow in the late autumn to human existence turned adrift amidst sleet and rain, without food or covering."

This diabolical plot was put into execution; many who resisted were killed. "The doors of their neighbours were opened in seeming hospitality, but within, there were not human beings, not even human savages, but ferocious beasts." Sir John Temple wrote: "The priests had so charmed the Irish, and laid such bloody impressions on them, as it was held a mortal sin to give relief or protection to the English."

These helpless ones were either betrayed to the ruffians out of doors or murdered by their hosts.

Protestants were got together under pretence of a convoy, and then slain.

Colonel Audley Mervyn, who was present in Ulster during the first three months of the insurrection, says that the Blackwater, in Tyrone, had its streams dyed in blood; at one time 200 souls were murdered on the bridge and thrown into the river.

The execution of the plot was so sudden that the Irish Council could not cope with it. This Council wrote to the English Parliament on December 1st, 1641, that 40,000 rebels were in the field. The document runs: "Their tyranny is so great that they put both man, woman, and child, that are Protestants, to the sword, not sparing either age, sex, degree, or reputation. They have stripped naked many Protestants, and so sent them to the city,

men and women. They have ravished many virgins, and women, before their husbands' faces, and taken their children and dashed their brains against the walls in the sight of their parents, and at length destroyed them likewise without pity or humanity."

On December 14th, a letter from Ireland was read in the English Parliament. It said, "All I can tell you is the miserable state we continue under, for the rebels daily increase in men and munition in all parts, except the province of Munster, exercising all manner of cruelties, and striving who can be most barbarously exquisite in tormenting the poor Protestants: cutting off their ears, fingers, and hands, plucking out their eyes, boiling the hands of little children before their mothers' faces, stripping women naked, and ripping them up," etc.

Sir John Temple wrote to the King, December 12th, 1641 (MSS. Record Office): " . . Their priests and Jesuits have with so great artifice and cunning entertained them, making them believe that the Romish religion was presently to be rooted out here. . . Thus enraged and armed by these pretences they march on, furiously destroying all the English, sparing neither sex nor age, throughout the kingdom, most barbarously murdering them, and that with greater cruelty than ever was yet used amongst Turks and infidels. *Many thousands of our nation have already perished* under their cruel hands, and the poor remainder of them go up and down desolate, naked, and most miserably afflicted with cold and hunger: all inns and other places in the country being prohibited, under deep penalties, to entertain or give any kind of relief to them."

Mr. Froude says: "Murder, when the spirit of it has gone abroad, becomes a passion, and man grows more ferocious than a beast of prey. Savage creatures of both

sexes, yelping in chorus, and brandishing their skenes; boys practising their young hands in stabbing and torturing the English children; these were the scenes which were witnessed daily in all parts of Ulster. The fury extended even to the farm stock, and sheep and oxen were slaughtered, not for food, but in the blindness of rage. The distinction between Scots and English soon vanished. Religion was made the new dividing line, and the one crime was to be a Protestant. The escorts proved in most cases but gangs of assassins. In the wildest of remembered winters the shivering fugitives were goaded along the highways stark naked and foodless. If some, happier than the rest, found a few rags to throw about them, they were torn instantly away. If others, in natural modesty, twisted straw ropes round their waists the straw was set on fire. When the tired little ones dropped behind, the escort lashed the parents forward, and the children were left to die. One witness, Adam Clover, of Slonery, in Cavan, swore that he saw a woman, who had been thus deserted, set upon by three Irish women, who stripped her naked in frost and snow. She fell in labour under their hands, and she and her child died. Many were buried alive. Those who died first were never buried, but were left to be devoured by dogs, and rats, and swine. Some were driven into rivers and drowned, some hanged, some mutilated, some ripped with knives. The priests told the people that the Protestants were worse than dogs, they were devils, and served the devil, and the killing of them was a meritorious act. One wretch stabbed a woman with a baby in her arms, and left the infant in mockery on its dead mother's breast, bidding it, 'Suck, English bastard.' The insurgents swore in their madness they would not have English man, woman, or child alive in Ireland. They flung babies into boiling pots, or tossed

them into the ditches to the pigs. They put out grown men's eyes, turned them adrift to wander, and starved them to death. Two cow-boys boasted of having murdered thirty women and children; and a lad was heard swearing that his arm was so tired with killing, that he could scarce lift his hand above his head."

"The *Hibernia Anglicana*," Appendix, page 10, records, as given by Mr. Froude, "Robert Maxwell, Archdeacon of Down, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, deposed that by Sir Phelim's order, they murdered his brother, James Maxwell. His wife, Grizzell Maxwell, being in labour, they stripped her naked, and drew her an arrow flight to the Backwater and drowned her. They cut a collop out of each buttock of Mr. Watson, and afterwards roasted him alive. They threw Mr. Starkey and his two daughters in a turf pit. They cut the flesh off living English cattle to make them die in torment."

Sir John Temple's account stated that "multitudes of English daily came up in troops, stripped and miserably despoiled; persons of good rank and quality covered over with old rags, and even without any covering but a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Wives came lamenting the murder of their husbands; mothers of their children barbarously destroyed before their faces. Some overweared with long travel and so surbated (the feet too bruised for walking) came creeping on their knees; others frozen with cold, ready to die in the streets. The Popish inhabitants refused to minister the least comfort to them, so as those sad creatures appeared like ghosts in every street. Barns, stables, and outhouses were filled with them, yet many lay in the open streets and there miserably perished."

One writer of the period says: "They have murdered and starved to death of the English in the province of

Ulster and other provinces, of men, women, and children above 20,000. They have stripped ladies and gentlewomen, virgins and babes, old and young, naked as ever they were born, turning them into the open fields. Many hundreds have been found dead in ditches with cold and want of food and raiment. As for the Protestant ministers, they hung them up, then cut off their heads, afterwards quartered them, and then dismembered them, stopping their mouths therewith. Many of their wives they have ravished in their sight before the multitude, stripping them naked to the view of their wicked companions, taunting and mocking them with reproachful words, sending them away in such shameless manner that most of them have died for grief."

"The priests and Jesuits commonly anoint the rebels with their sacrament of the unction before they go to murder and rob, assuring them for their meritorious service if they chance to be killed they shall escape purgatory and go to heaven immediately. Five hundred English at Belturbet were stripped naked and turned out into the bitter cold without a single rag to cover them. They report and allege that religion is the cause of this war, but that is false, for they have had too much liberty and freedom of conscience in Ireland, and that both made them rebel."

Sir H. Stradling, writing to Sir John Pennington from Ireland, March 6th, 1642 (M.S. in Record Office), said that the Irish had taken oaths to extirpate the English.

Mr. Froude says, "Religion was of course the difficulty. The Irish Council demanded the restoration of the Catholic Church to its pre-Reformation splendour and privileges, and that the circumstantial minuteness of the picture is itself a guarantee of its fidelity."

As to the numbers who perished they were estimated

at 200,000 by the Catholic priests; but they afterwards returned the numbers killed in their various parishes up to March, 1642, as 154,000. Sir John Temple considered that 150,000 perished in two months and 300,000 in two years. At the trial of Lord Maquyre the number was sworn at 152,000. Clarendon put the number at 40,000; Sir William Petty at 37,000. Collier records that the lowest estimate ever made put the number at 12,000 to 13,000.

The recoil was terrible and decisive. Oliver Cromwell went to Ireland in 1649, as Lord Lieutenant. He landed at Dublin in command of 8000 foot and 4000 horse, besides a strong force of artillery. He first stormed Drogheda, and as the town had refused to surrender, almost every man found in arms was killed. Some fled to St. Peter's Church, which was burned, and a general massacre followed. Many prisoners were sent to the Barbadoes, which was a penal settlement. Cromwell wrote in a dispatch: "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future."

Dundalk and Trim, learning of the fate of Drogheda, surrendered at the first summons. Wexford was the next place of attack, where were Irish pirates on the sea, and murderers on the land. The Catholic inhabitants had filled a hulk with Protestant prisoners and sunk it in the harbour, and had imprisoned others in a Catholic chapel and starved them to death, as recorded by letters and speeches at the time.

Cromwell demanded the surrender of the town in an hour, which not being complied with, he stormed the walls and put those in arms to death.

Garrisons in various places were put to the sword; cities were left unpeopled; and everywhere the Catholics fled in terror. So greatly was Cromwell feared that "The curse of Cromwell on you!" is to this day used as an imprecation of deadly hate in the South of Ireland.

Cromwell was *just* as well as stern. His order was that his soldiers should not pillage, but should pay for what they had. This law was broken by two of his soldiers, who stole a fowl from a peasant's cabin, and were at once hanged.

During the winter, Cromwell rested his army for a month or two, and recommenced military operations in the spring, when Kilkenny and Clonmell surrendered, which was his last victory. Rebellion was put down, and the people had to choose between submission and death. Cromwell returned to England in 1650, and left his son-in-law, Ireton, Lord President of Munster, in charge. Ireton besieged Limerick, and took it, but died there of the plague. The reduction of Galway by Sir Charles Coote brought the war to an end in 1652. One-third of the population of Connaught died of famine and plague.

Cromwell's soldiers were to be paid in Irish land, and settlements were made in military colonies in the old Roman style. The surviving population was estimated at about 850,000, about 150,000 of whom were English and Scots. Connaught, having a good natural boundary (the Shannon), was to be devoted exclusively to the Irish, and the alternative was offered them of settlement there or exile. Some chose Connaught, others entered the French, Spanish, or Austrian services. The Catholic priests were found guilty of high treason and ordered to depart, which many did; others were sent away to Spain, and some to the Barbadoes.

Ireland was then settled by Cromwell's officers. "They

were settled down regiment by regiment, troop by troop, company by company"; they built, planted, drained, and ploughed, and the peasants remained under them.

Bands of outlaws, however, escaped Connaught, and adopted the name of Tories.* They continued a war of plunder and assassination; their leaders were identified and outlawed, and a price was set upon their heads, and their own relations were willing to give them up and earn the money when they could. These Tories used to burn the farmsteads and attack the colonists.

Mr. Froude says of Cromwell: "He meant to rule Ireland for Ireland's good, and all testimony agrees that Ireland never prospered as she prospered in the years of the Protectorate. He yielded nothing which he held essential. He allowed no penal statutes to be hung out, like scarecrows, to be a jest and a mockery. The execution of the soldiers who stole the fowl was the symbol of the entire administration. He allowed no wrong doing—no tyrannous oppression of the poor. . . . The worst means of governing the Irish is to give them their own way. In concession they see only fear, and those that fear them they hate and despise. Coercion succeeds better—they respect a master hand, though it be a hard and cruel one. But let authority be *just*, as well as strong. Give an Irishman a *just* master, and he will follow him to

* "Tory," according to Webster, is said to be an Irish word denoting a robber or a savage, from "toree," give me (*sic* your money). The word Tory first occurs in English history in 1679, during the struggle in Parliament occasioned by the introduction of the Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the line of succession, and was applied by the advocates of the Bill to its opponents as a title of obloquy or contempt. The Tories subsequently took a broader ground, and their leading principle became the maintenance of things as they were.

the world's end. Cromwell alone, of all Irish governors, understood this central principle of Irish management. He was gone before his administration could bear fruit in the feeling of the people, and history remembers only in him the avenger of the massacre." (1641.)

"During the ten years of Cromwell's government the priests and their work were at an end. Ireland was quiet, and, had Cromwell left a son like himself, must in another generation have been Protestant. The Restoration brought back the old system. Half, or nearly half, the Catholic gentry were replaced in their estates. The Catholic hierarchy was re-established. Catholic prelates received a quasi recognition from the State, and the oath of supremacy was dispensed with as a condition of admission to the service of the State. Protestant dissenters were persecuted and imprisoned. Catholics were connived at and smiled upon."

Priests and dispossessed proprietors hid amongst the tribes, and made mischief when they were able.

In 1655, the English committed an act of injustice against Galway, for contrary to the conditions made at its surrender, all the Irish and Catholic inhabitants were ordered to leave the town to be replaced by English Protestants. This was carried out, without distinction of rank or sex, in a severe winter, and many perished in consequence.

In this year the Irish Parliament was for the first time transferred to Westminster.

For two years, 1655 to 1657, Cromwell's son, Henry, commanded the army in Ireland, and was made Lord Lieutenant of the country.

The great rebellion of 1641 had been an effort of the Irish to shake off the English authority and exterminate the English settlers and the Protestant religion, and

Cromwell's conquest was a re-subjugation of Ireland. The owners of the soil had forfeited their rights and were deprived of them; and at the "Restoration," in 1660, when Charles II. ascended the throne of his father, the question arose as to giving back to the dispossessed Catholics of Ireland the lands they had forfeited; a Commission sat at Westminster to consider the claims, and counsel was heard on their side. Protestant Royalists, like Ormond and Lord Inchiquin, were to be re-instated at once, and intruders (Cromwell's soldiers) settled on their lands to receive land elsewhere. Catholics who were innocent of murder and rebellion were not to suffer, and should be replaced in their homes;—as also the great Anglo-Irish Catholic nobles, Clanrickarde, Westmeath, Dillon, Gormanstown, Fingal, Mountgarret, Netterville, and many others, who, although guilty of much bloodshed, had desired to confine themselves within the lines of opposition to Cromwell's Parliament as distinct from the English Crown.

To the general reader there may appear some confusion in this, but it must be remembered that not only had there been civil war as between England and Ireland, but civil war in England as between the Royalists and the Puritans (or Cromwellians), and when a monarchy was re-established in England called the "Restoration," the authorities under the monarchy did not allow all that the authorities under the Protectorate had arranged with regard to Ireland and the Irish. Cromwell assumed the government of England as a "Protector," and he was opposed to the Royal family and its friends, and treated them as rebels to the general commonwealth of the country; and holding the reins of the country for the time being, he aimed to put down all rebellion against the country, whether from the Royalists on the one hand

in England, or the Anarchists on the other in Ireland. Therefore, when a monarchy was restored, the arrangements which had been, and had to be, made, were surrounded by great difficulties.

After the Restoration there existed a very strong adverse feeling in England to the Puritans, but the principle of Puritanism was not killed, and two books which came out of it, "Pilgrim's Progress," and "Paradise Lost," are as popular with the people of England to-day as ever they were.

The wealth of Ireland had greatly increased under the despotism of Cromwell, so that from the very brink of ruin she was able, after paying all her own expenses, to settle £30,000 a-year on the King. This prosperity caused English jealousy. The prosperity was brought about principally by Cromwell's settlers, who were Dissenters, and the English put restrictions of a most ungenerous nature upon Irish trade.

The English should have encouraged the English settlers in Ireland at this time in every way—commercially, socially, religiously; but they did not. Protestantism was not as earnest and energetic as it should have been. It was supine; it lost its chances, and the Catholics were busy. They had a priest again in every parish, and friaries and convents were re-established, as if the law against them had not been repealed, and, as a consequence, trouble was brooding. It commenced by an order in 1686 that all Protestants were to be disarmed, which was carried out upon even the gentry, the militia, etc. This was in the reign of James II., brother to Charles II.

A prominent character of this period was Earl Tyrconnel (spelt by some "Tirconiall"), whose name was Richard Talbot, and who was brother to Peter Talbot, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

The Earl of Clarendon, father-in-law to James II., was Viceroy. Protestants were deposed from the public offices, and Catholics put in their places. Tyrconnel was working in the Popish interest. He was nicknamed "Lying Dick," as his word could not be trusted, and his language was constantly interspersed with vulgarities and oaths. Lord Robert Montagu says of him in his book, "Recent Events, and a Clue to their Solution": "In 1686 and 1687 Lord Tyrconnel pushed forward, with all the energy of his character, that part of the Jesuits' plan which consisted in turning Ireland into one vast camp. He took the ancient charters from the towns, so that there might be no law in Ireland but such as he approved; he put an end to the Corporate bodies, and dismissed all the Protestants who had been employed under the Duke of Ormond or the Earl of Clarendon. By various acts of cruelty he managed to worry out and extirpate the Protestant landlords, so that he might have at his command a Catholic Ireland to assist King James if a struggle should ensue between the Catholic throne and Protestant England.

"Tyrconnel had, with his master's approbation, made arrangements for separating Ireland from the Empire (an aggravated Home Rule), and for placing her under the protection of Louis (King of France) as soon as the Crown should devolve on a Protestant sovereign. Bourepaux had been consulted, had imparted the design to his Court, and had been instructed to assure Tyrconnel that France would lend effectual aid to the accomplishment of this great project."

Clarendon was dismissed. He made a melancholy reference to the loyal Protestants who were to be made victims. Tyrconnel, in 1687, became Lord Deputy. Sir Alexander Fitton, a convicted forger, was made Chancellor. Protestant

officers were weeded out of the army, and the power became again Catholic.

Fitton said publicly of the industrious and loyal Protestants that "among 40,000 of them there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain."

The merchants and manufacturers, being Protestants, and governors of the corporate towns, the Corporation charters were revoked and cancelled, and new charters issued. A second search for arms was to be made in the Protestants' houses, and thus the Protestants were to be superseded legally—*i.e.*, by the new forms of law created by Tyrconnel.

The army, being Catholic, lived at free quarters on the Protestant farms. The Tories (outlaws and bandits) received commissions as officers in the King's service, and over those who had set prices on their heads they were left to work out their will. Tenants of Protestant landowners were bidden not to pay rent, for the land would soon be their own.

How history repeats itself! The great mischief in Ireland now arises from the Catholics as such, and the effort to give Home Rule to Ireland is the effort to give the supremacy in everything to Catholics, and now, as then, tenants are bidden not to pay any rent in the hope that they will have Home Rule, and will be able to deprive the Protestant landowners of their estates, and now, as then, Protestants are persecuted as such. The writer, when recently in Dublin, spent an evening with a clergyman of the Protestant Irish Church, who had a living in the south of Ireland, and he said: "Although my family came over here with Cromwell, and have been here ever since, I am not yet accounted an Irishman, simply because I am a Protestant."

KING JAMES AND TYRCONNEL.

KING JAMES had taken the oath to uphold the Church of England, which promise he repeated from the throne when he met his Parliament, but he turned out to be a zealous Catholic. Under him Chief Justice Jeffreys held his "Bloody Assize," butchering the people by scores in the West of England. Under him the seven bishops were brought to trial, and under him the kingdom had been thrown into confusion. Some of the leading nobles and clergy of England wrote to William, Prince of Orange Nassau, the nephew and son-in-law of James, entreating him to come with an army and aid them in defending their freedom and their faith. William accepted the call, and landed at Torbay, in Devon, November 5th, 1688, and rather than risk a battle, knowing that he was unpopular, James fled to France.

William, Prince of Orange, assumed the title of William III., and his wife that of Mary II.

Tyreconnel, however, still held Ireland for James, and through him the power of the English in Ireland had been very greatly reduced. He waited to see how events would turn out. William's overtures were regarded as signs of weakness, and Catholic Ireland was called to arms. Protestants were seized, their cattle driven off, and in three months all was gone to the value of a million sterling, which was a large sum in those days. Soldiers surrounded the bakehouses so that no Protestant might purchase a loaf, and Catholics declared that they would starve one half the Protestants and hang the other half; exactly the same principle, now called "boycotting," prevails in Ireland to-day.

James sailed from France to Ireland and landed at

Kinsale, with 100 French officers and 1200 Irish refugees, and arms for 10,000 men. James summoned a Parliament in Ireland which sat for three months, and in that time the Acts of Settlement were repealed, and 2600 owners of land were by an Act of Attainder declared to have forfeited their estates by treason because they were in favour of the Protestant King William.

James and his army marched on Londonderry (commonly called Derry), and besieged it. The siege was turned into a blockade. They were cut off from the sea by a boom of fir logs bound with cables placed across the river. The siege lasted for 105 days, and fever, cholera, and famine added to the miseries of the besieged. Rats were regarded as dainties, and hides and shoe leather were eaten to sustain life. (See specially Macaulay, vol. 2. p. 353). Ships from England with stores were seen in the Lough. These contained sacks of meal, ready to be landed, and yet the commanders were too cowardly to draw near. At last, after three months of delay, the boom was broken, Derry was relieved, and the Irish camp broke up in despair. Derry, deserted by the English regiments, betrayed by its commander, defended only by shopkeepers and apprentices against a disciplined army of 25,000 men, led by trained officers and well provided with artillery, has handed down an example of true heroism.

William now sent an army to Ireland, and subsequently went over himself, and, with 36,000 men, left Belfast for Dublin. His forces were half English, and the rest French, Fins, Swedes, Swiss, Danes, Dutch, and Brandenburgers. In July (1690) he reached the banks of the River Boyne, where a battle was fought, described by historians as one of the decisive battles of the world. James entrusted the command of his troop to Tyrconnel, and then sailed back to France. William entered Dublin; and Drogheda,

Kilkenny, and Waterford surrendered, but he was repulsed at Athlone, and Limerick resisted him, and after four hours' hard fighting, in which the women took part, the army retired. William returned to England. Baron de Ginkel, afterwards made Earl of Athlone, remained in Ireland in command of the forces. Tyrconnel went to France, and returned to Ireland with three frigates and warlike stores; and under a French general, St. Ruth, who commanded the Jacobite army, the war was renewed.

A battle was fought at Athlone, and the Jacobites retreated to Aughrim, where another battle was fought, in which William's army was victorious. Tyrconnel lay dying at Limerick, and Sarsfield took command of the Irish army. Limerick was besieged for a month, and after some fighting an armistice was agreed upon. A treaty was entered into which provided that Catholics should enjoy religious liberty, as in the days of Charles II., and that those in arms for James in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo should retain their estates if they took a simple oath of allegiance to William and Mary. After a few days, eighteen French men-of-war and twenty transports, with 3000 soldiers and 10,000 stand of arms, and supplies, sailed up the Shannon, but Sarsfield stood by the treaty. The English Parliament, however, felt that it would be unsafe and suicidal to ratify the promises made by William. More than 20,000 Irishmen went to France and formed the famous Irish Brigade, which won distinction in many of the continental battles. A Royal Proclamation was issued at Dublin, declaring the war and rebellion to be at an end. Some forfeited lands were restored to the Catholics, but large estates were conferred for military services on those who served as commanders in William's army.

The re-conquest of Ireland had cost the English taxpayer £9,000,000 sterling.

Various restrictions were now placed upon the Catholics; they were forbidden to employ Catholic teachers, to keep arms, etc. Gunmakers and cutlers were forbidden to take Catholic apprentices. Catholic prelates, and all Jesuits and friars, were ordered to leave Ireland before the following May, and any Catholic clergyman landing in the country was liable to transportation. Any priest turning Protestant received a pension of £20 per annum. A Protestant woman who married a Catholic lost her property.

In 1700, the English Parliament passed a Bill against the will of the King, granting to former Catholic owners the forfeited estates in Ireland which had been granted to supporters of William III. at this time.

IRISH PROTESTANTS.

IN 1703 the Protestants in Ireland presented an address to Queen Anne imploring her to promote a legislative union between Ireland and England, but through much opposition it was not carried into effect.

Instead of the English Church using its opportunities for spreading the principles of Protestantism by sending preachers to proclaim the gospel of Christ throughout Ireland, the Government passed an Act for the repression of Popery. It was called the Popery Act, and contained a clause which operated also against the Presbyterians and other Nonconformists. It made it compulsory on all persons to whatever Church they belonged, to take the sacrament according to the Rites of the Established Church before they could hold any office under the Crown in the country, civil or military, above the rank of a constable, or even to

vote at elections. The special restrictions on Catholics were unjust, as, for example, the Act provided that where the eldest son of a Catholic father was a Protestant, the father became tenant for life only, and was disabled from selling his estate. Catholics were prohibited from being guardians or trustees to orphan children, though born of Catholic parents. But the Act was not carried out; it disqualified Papists from acting as solicitors, yet the Courts were full of Catholic attorneys, and the restrictions against Catholics seem to have existed for the most part on paper, for in practice the Catholics had as much liberty as if such an Act had not been passed; corruption and deception was a matter of course, and perjury was made a venial sin.

Gross pluralism of the Established Church deprived many districts of all spiritual provision, and as a consequence some of these neglected places applied for Presbyterian help, which caused much scorn and enmity from the bishops.

The House of Lords, under the influence of the bishops, said that "Ireland would be happy if she could be saved from Popish priests and Dissenting preachers."

Bolingbroke carried through the English Parliament what was known as the "Schism Act," the effect of which was to prohibit any person teaching in a school unless he had a license from the bishop, and he could not obtain that license unless he took the sacrament after the form of the Church of England; and this arbitrary Act consequently drove the Puritans, the most industrious men in Ireland, out of the country. The marriages of Dissenters were declared void, and they were denounced as living in concubinage.

This oppression was not by the Irish Catholics, but by the English Government, moved by the dignitaries of the Church of England. The Church of England had had an

opportunity to set the plain and simple gospel truth before the Irish people, and had failed, and great was her responsibility. The Presbyterians had been successful in making some converts from amongst the Catholics; the Church of England, which was a stern ecclesiasticism, had made none, or only such as were worse than none, men who claimed to be Protestants simply for legal advantage.

Mr. Froude says in relation to this period of the Irish:—"Among the peculiarities of the Celtic peasantry, one of the most striking is a contempt for those who are afraid of them; a submissiveness and even real attachment, which is proof against much injustice and many cruelties, to a master who is a master indeed. The relations of men to one another become healthy only when the truth is seen and confessed. Elizabeth forbade her Viceroy to meddle with religion, and she had to encounter three bloody insurrections. Under Charles the First there was a Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament, with the practical enjoyment of civil and religious equality. The reward was the rebellion and massacre of 1641. A third of the confiscated estates was given back to the Catholics at the Restoration. The titular bishops were received at the castle. Catholic laymen became magistrates, sheriffs, judges, officers in the army. At length they had their own Parliament; and they showed their gratitude for these indulgencies by repealing the Acts of Settlement, and by attaining 3000 Protestant Landowners."

In 1714 the dynasty was changed by the accession of George Guelph, Elector of Hanover, to the British Throne as George I. In 1719 Bills were passed to relieve Protestant Dissenters in Ireland from some of their disabilities and penalties. A great agitation was caused in Ireland by what was known as Wood's halfpence. There being a

great scarcity of small copper coin in Ireland, Walpole, as the head of the Treasury, granted a patent to William Wood, of Wolverhampton, who had extensive copper works, to coin £90,000 worth of copper coin for circulation in Ireland, and as it appeared that a profit would attach to the transaction through the lightness and inferiority of the coin of some £40,000, and that this profit would not be used for the public good, the disturbances arose which caused the King to cancel the patent to Wood, and give him a compensation grant of £3000 for twelve years. George I. died in June, 1727. Dean Swift had written much against the Government in the reigns of George I. and George II.

During the last century Ireland was disgraced more than any other country of modern times by a systematised process of rape. Gangs of men with blackened faces would enter the houses where were Protestant women with money, either the daughters of well-to-do persons or widows well provided for, and carry them off to the mountains, subjecting them to extreme violence, and outraging them in the presence of their vile companions, and then compelling them, through fear, to go through the form of marriage, for which purpose they had a priest at hand to carry out their will. Many a woman thus having suffered more than the loss of life, actually submitted to be recognised as the wife of the villain who had outraged her, rather than live under the stain of such a character as they would otherwise have attached to her.

Not only was Ireland stained by such enormities, but, if possible, the country was guilty of a worse condemnation, because no one would convict the wretches when brought to justice—no, not justice—but to the place where it was pretended justice was administered.

Mr. Froude, in vol. i. of his "*English in Ireland*,"

pages 453 to 496, gives many detailed accounts of these atrocious outrages.

Gangs of men went about the country, maiming cattle in a way to produce a chronic terror, and of them Mr. Froude says, "that they must have been Catholics, as the only sufferers were Protestants."

The English Government had imposed very heavy restrictions, from time to time, on Irish industry, and it was the industry principally of the intelligent Puritans, but the effect of which was, of course, felt through the whole country, and a very extensive and continued system of smuggling and privateering was carried on.

In 1739 the potato crop failed in Ireland, and the consequence was a very grievous famine, during which it is said that ONE-FIFTH OF THE POPULATION PERISHED.

About 1730 it was proposed to pass another Disarming Act, but the Irish Protestants had not forgotten the events of 1641 and 1690, and so resisted it, but the Government, still wishing in 1739 to enforce it, were brought to reason by the possibility of war with Spain, which caused them to remember that Protestants formed the most reliable part of the population.

Mr. Froude records acts of very corrupt "justice" in the administration of law in the Courts. The prisons were dens of infamy. The Sheriff Marshall, as keeper of Newgate, who had a salary of £10 a year, managed to make an average of about £1200 a year of his position. The inmates of this prison, on a Government inspection, were found lying about the floors; some dead, some dying of starvation, but all in great misery.

In 1759 a Union was again proposed, which excited great opposition amongst the people.

About this period absenteeism and other evils were working out dangerous principles in Ireland; the absentee

landlords had no sympathy with the people, and only held their estates for what they could get out of them; the system was one of oppression, and to a majority of the Irish was a grinding tyranny—(see Froude, vol. ii., 22 and 23). The lineal descendants of those whose estates had been confiscated were working, as cottiers, on the lands of their ancestors, and used to leave wills bequeathing the lands to their descendants in the hope that one day they would re-possess them.

George III. commenced his reign in 1760, and he found Ireland suffering from the effects of another famine and from the usual internal trouble. One great cause of complaint was that the Bills brought before the Irish Parliament were first transmitted to the English Privy Council and there altered as was deemed necessary. Secret societies began to grow at this period, and the celebrated Whiteboys (similar to the present Moonlighters) came into existence. One cause of great complaint was that all arable land was taxed to support the State Church, while pasture land was untaxed. Lord Chesterfield said that “the poor people of Ireland are worse used than the negroes by their masters.”

THE WHITEBOYS.

THE Whiteboys were so called because they wore a shirt over their clothes, and vast clouds of moving figures were seen flitting silently at night over field and moor, leaving their mark in blazing homesteads and burnt inmates, levelled fences, and houghed cattle moaning in their agonies. The offenders could not be discovered, for the country was sworn to secrecy, as in the case of the present Moonlighters. Peaceable tenants were ordered

to leave their farms, and if they did not break up their homes and go away, fearful penalties were inflicted. In one fortnight four innocent girls, daughters of wealthy parents, were carried off, violated, and forced into marriages with the wretches who perpetrated the violence. The Whiteboys preferred inflicting torture to murder, and male offenders had their tongues torn out by the roots, and besides were houghed like the cattle. A very general form of torture was to throw the victim naked into a pit lined with thorns, and then fill up the pit with earth to his chin, and leave him to live or die.

Although no excuse can be made for absenteeism, nor for any act of tyranny by landlords, yet such inhuman atrocities as those perpetrated by the Whiteboys must be put down, and the military were brought into requisition, but it was not carried out with Cromwellian decision, and so partially failed.

The Irish people now had another grievance, the peasants were required to give six days of forced labour for the maintenance of the roads, and six days' use of a horse, while the rich contributed nothing. This led to renewed acts of cattle maiming, wrecking houses, etc. Absentee landlords imposed fines on the termination of leases, which the tenants could not pay, and their places were taken by speculators who re-let the land at double rents. Large numbers of the people emigrated to America. There is no doubt that the Irish people, with all their heartless cruelties, had just complaints against the English Government, and Lord Townshend, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote: "In short, my lord, the distress of this people is very great. I hope to be excused for representing to his majesty the miserable situation of the lower ranks of his subjects in this kingdom. What from the rapaciousness of their unfeeling landlords, and the restrictions on their

trade, they are amongst the most wretched people on earth."

The celebrated Edmund Burke was a prominent character at this period.

That oppression and corruption had existed in Ireland is only too evident a truth of history, but oppression and corruption also existed in England, Scotland, and Wales. Yet, with all the outrages of past times, England, Scotland, and Wales were never disgraced by the inhuman acts of cruelty which have left so deep a stain on Ireland.

In 1773 it was proposed to put a tax on absentees of two shillings in the pound on the net rents and annual profits of all Irish landlords who did not reside in Ireland at least six months out of the twelve, but the Bill was rejected by Parliament.

Absenteeism had for centuries been a popular grievance in Ireland, and as there was no land-tax in Ireland, it seemed the more just that absentees should be made to contribute in the form of a special tax to the State. Although the equity of such a tax was universally admitted, and Pery, the Speaker, urged that if absentees did pay ten per cent. on their income, they would still contribute less to the Irish revenue than the resident gentry, who were burdened with the Customs and Excise, yet the motion was lost by 120 to 106. After a time it was again brought forward, but, after a nine hours' debate, its reconsideration was rejected without a division.

GRATTAN.

CONSIDERABLE corruption prevailed at this period. The authorities at Dublin Castle aimed to secure on its side the services of able men, and for this purpose it was willing to bribe such persons by official appointments,

sinecures, pensions, peerages, etc. Unprincipled Irish Members of Parliament were watching their opportunities to make bargains with the Government when it was in difficulties. Lord Harcourt was Viceroy, and Colonel de Blaquiere was Secretary; the latter, in writing to the English Cabinet, urged that from thirty to forty Members must be assisted if their re-elections were to be secured. He said that their seats in the new Parliament could not be purchased for less than two thousand guineas. Flood, the orator, was purchased, but subsequently receded, and his end was something of a failure, for he was to some extent despised by both sides. In 1775, Henry Grattan, then a young man of twenty-five years, entered the Irish Parliament, and Mr. Froude says that in five years he wrested out of England's hands the power which she had long abused. He obtained for Ireland free trade, and he gave her the fatal privileges of constitutional self-government, which she had not honesty enough to use, and which plunged her into a deeper abyss of ruin than she had escaped. Henry Grattan is described as alone of all Irish patriots being incorruptible.

In 1775 commenced the American War of Independence between Great Britain and her American Colonies, which was caused principally by England enforcing taxation on those Colonies without their consent. The American War having filled England's hands with work, Ireland was left to a condition of masked anarchy, and all kinds of atrocities, including the ravishing of women, smuggling, houghing of cattle, robberies, etc., were carried out very widely. The public service, too, from the very highest to the lowest positions, were pervaded with speculation. To be an idle gentleman, to hunt, shoot, drink, gamble, and fight duels, was the acme of ambition. The land was rented by tenants who sublet it at profits, so that the poor

under-tenants were crushed and starved, and especially on the estates of absentees was this system the more cruelly carried out. The Irish church, through English influence, indulged in pluralities, worldliness, and absenteeism in cases of the richer livings.

In consequence of her difficulties in America, the conduct of France and Spain was such that England was obliged to encounter war with those nations. The effect of the American war upon Ireland was, that the Irish, finding that a rebellion against England resulted in the American Colonies becoming a free and independent nation, desired to follow her example, in the hope that the result might be the same in her case. England was much to blame; sinecures had been so increased, and other corrupt influences had grown, that Grattan was stirred to very energetic action. A list of grievances was made out, and certain measures of relief were granted.

Privateering in Irish waters was carried on very extensively in 1778. A Scotchman, named Paul Jones, who had lived for some time in America, took the American side, and distinguished himself as captain of a privateer named the "Ranger," a fast 18-gun sloop. He sailed for Ireland, and committed great depredation in St. George's Channel.

About the year 1779, Ireland was still suffering from serious disabilities imposed by England. A tax was put on all her exports except woollens. The war had ruined the linen trade. Artizans and peasants were starving. Land was offered at fourteen years' purchase, but could find no buyers. Concessions were granted. Grattan's two famous resolutions were:—

1. That the King, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, is alone competent to enact laws to bind Ireland.

2. That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign.

Ireland had been arming, and possessed a volunteer force of its own of 100,000 men. England was embroiled in war in America, and in India, and with France, Spain, and Holland. Ireland used the opportunity, and Grattan brought forward another resolution: "*That Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a separate Parliament, and that this Parliament alone has a right to make laws for her.*"

On the 17th of May, 1782, the two Secretaries of State, Lord Shelbourne in the Lords, and Charles James Fox in the Commons of Great Britain, proposed the repeal of the 6th of George I., an English Act, which declared the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland. The English Government acceded to the demands of Ireland, and granted four things:—

I. An independent Irish Parliament.

II. The abrogation of Poyning's Law, empowering the English Privy Council to alter Irish Bills.

III. The introduction of a Biennial Mutiny Bill.

IV. The abolition of the right of appeal to England from the Irish Law Courts.

The sum of £50,000 was voted to Mr. Grattan for his services.

We have seen that the Volunteer force in Ireland was a very large one, and, as might have been expected in such a country, it abused its powers—it dictated to Parliament, and this aroused the indignation of many members of the House. To counteract this pernicious influence, the regular army of British soldiers was increased to 12,000 men.

Grattan's influence was still great, and Fox and Portland relied on him to support them in a difficulty which had arisen, for an attempt was to be made to vote for the reduction of the British troops, so that the Volunteers and

their friends in Parliament should have their own way in governing the country. Flood spoke in favour of the reduction of the regular army; Grattan followed him in the interests of the British Government, though he knew that it would, as it did, make him unpopular with his own people; but he realised his duty in the matter, and was true to his convictions, but, of course, making an enemy of Flood, who saw his advantage, and aimed to still more closely secure the interests of the Volunteers. He taunted Grattan as a "mendicant patriot" who was bought and sold for money, and indulged in other charges equally abusive, which the Irish members of the present House of Commons lead us to suppose is inseparable from the Irish character. Grattan rose, and after putting a hypothetical case, looked full at Flood and said:—"Sir, your talents are not so great as your life has been infamous. You were silent for years, and you were silent for money. When affairs of consequence were debating you might be seen passing by these doors like a guilty spirit, waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or at times with a vulgar brogue aping the manners and affecting the infirmities of Lord Chatham; or like a kettledrummer lathering yourself into popularity to catch the vulgar; or you might be seen hovering over the dome like an ill-omened bird of night with sepulchral note, a cadaverous aspect, and broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey. You can be trusted by no man. The people cannot trust you; the ministers cannot trust you. You deal out the most impartial treachery to both. You tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you. You fled from the embargo; you fled from the Sugar Bill. I therefore tell you in the face of the country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man."

An excitement ensued. A duel was arranged, but the serjeant-at-arms took them both into custody, and they were bound over to keep the peace.

In 1784, the Duke of Rutland, a young man of twenty-nine years, succeeded Lord Northington as Viceroy. It was a troublous time, and the duke, in writing to Lord Sydney in the same year, informed him of meetings in which French emissaries were present, joining with agitators in their work of disaffection; the Irish patriots were red republicans, allies of Carnot and Hoche, aiming to establish the principles of Tom Paine. The party on one occasion "drank the health of Louis XVI., on their knees." The duke added: "Their acknowledged object was separation from England, and the establishment in Ireland of the Roman Catholic religion."

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.

"By 1782 a different state of feeling had grown up among the Protestants. In 1775 the North American States had secured their independence, and this was not without effect on Ireland. Poynings' Law had become a source of offence, as had a statute known as the 6th of George I., by which the English Parliament claimed the right to legislate for Ireland. The Parliament of Anglo-Irish in Dublin, led by Grattan and Flood, demanded independence. Ireland, it was for the first time insisted, had a right to a separate national existence, united to England only by the link of the Crown. The English Ministry yielded, and for the first time in history an absolutely independent Anglo-Irish Parliament sat. It was, of course, exclusively a Protestant Parliament; but one of its earliest measures was to give Roman Catholics the right to buy freehold land, to teach in schools, and to educate their children. The following facts about

Grattan's Parliament (as it is now often called) must be carefully remembered:—

“ 1. It was a legislative assembly without a corresponding Executive. The Irish Parliament could not turn the Irish Government out of office.

“ 2. It could, however, at any time, have paralysed Great Britain by refusing to join in any war in which the latter was engaged, or by refusing supplies; and

“ 3. It could have—as was actually proposed—put prohibitive duties on British commerce, and provoked a war of tariffs.

“ 4. It quarrelled directly with the British Parliament on the question of the Regency Bill; and a disastrous split was only prevented by the convalescence of George III. In this matter it acted in absolute contravention of the laws regulating the connection between the two countries, which were only ‘paper guarantees.’

“ 5. It admitted Roman Catholics to the franchise, but refused, by 170 to 30, to admit them to Parliament or public offices.

“ 6. It passed in 18 years no less than 54 Coercion Acts, or three *per annum*.

“ 7. Under this Parliament Ireland was, as we shall see later on, reduced to beggary.

“ 8. Matters culminated in the rebellion of 1798, which had its share in intensifying in Ireland the feelings between Protestant and Catholic. It quickly, as of old, became a religious war, and had its share in inducing Pitt to introduce his measure for a Legislative Union.”

PEEP O' DAY BOYS.

VIOLENCE prevailed, soldiers were hamstrung by the mob. A committee for tarring and feathering was established in

Dublin; citizens were dragged from their beds, stripped naked, smeared with pitch, and rolled in goose down, and so turned into the streets. In 1785 the Whiteboys again made an appearance, especially in the south, and carried out their lawless acts of slaying and mutilating. Two years later these outrages were retaliated by a society called "Peep o' Day Boys," who seized the guns of Catholics, who in turn formed another society, called "Defenders."

The Whiteboys carried off young girls, ravished them, and forced them into marriage. Duels were fought, men and boys fought—the magistrates looked on, but did nothing. The Government had largely increased the pension list during the past four years by an extensive system of bribery.

The bishops of this period seem to have been a slothful set. Mr. Froude says that the thin attendances at the churches contrasted painfully with the crowds which thronged the chapels.

Absenteeism was still working a great evil, for middlemen were grasping and avaricious to a degree which was cruelly extortionate.

WOLFE TONE.

WOLFE TONE was the chief founder of the society known as "United Irishmen." After a time this society was suppressed, when it was reorganised as a secret body. A conflict occurred in September, 1795, between the Protestants and the Defenders, when the Protestants banded themselves into a secret society and called themselves Orangemen. Tone went to America, but made some of his friends swear that to the last they would strive for the independence of Ireland.

The Defenders and United Irishmen stirred up a spirit

of insurrection, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor sought an interview with Hoche, the celebrated French general, with a view to a French invasion which should enable Ireland to form itself into a Republic independent of Great Britain.

Wolfe Tone left America in January, 1796, for France, with the object of getting French assistance in his insurrectionary efforts.

Lord Camden was Viceroy, and in opening the session referred to the treasonable organisation which was over-spreading the island, and the House was anxious to know what the Government intended to do in reference to Wolfe Tone's society called "United Irishmen."

The Attorney-General announced that he should introduce a Bill to repress conspiracy to murder, for he said that "assassination had become as familiar as fowling."

Magistrates and policemen were murdered, as were also witnesses, to prevent their appearance in Court, or were murdered afterwards to deter others. He asked Parliament to make the administration of treasonable oaths a capital offence. Only one voice was raised against him, and that was Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Grattan, however, made a counter attack upon the Orangemen, who had joined in defence of the existing constitution, and who had shown no antipathy to the Catholics till the latter had begun to arm in the face of the law.

Lord Camden said that if France interfered he believed Ireland to be lost, and although he had 19,000 militia he could not trust them. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had a house at Hamburg, where his wife was staying, and whither he repaired to join her without exciting suspicion; but when there he proceeded to Switzerland, where Hoche, the French general, met him by appointment, and a negotiation, which had already been set in train by

Wolfe Tone, was entered upon for a French invasion of England, with the object of enabling Ireland to become a Republic independent of England.

The Government had an army of informers, whose names were never divulged. It was discovered that the secret societies had been at work with a purpose; that Dublin, Cork, and Limerick were ready to rise, with 200,000 men officered in regiments, and that they had pikes and muskets for 150,000 and were expecting more arms.

The militia could not be trusted; the Government was advised to disarm them; the Protestant landlords obtained leave from the Government to raise companies of yeomanry; and in a few weeks 30,000 men were enrolled and armed.

Napper Tandy, hearing of these movements, fled, but Keogh was arrested, as also were Neilson, Orr, Russell, the two Simms, and five others. These leaders of the rebel organization having been made prisoners, and the loyal yeomanry having suddenly become numerous, the traitors were embarrassed, foiled, and subjected for some months.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and Arthur O'Connor were on the Continent arranging with Hoche, the French general, for an invasion of England, and in December, 1796, the French sent a fleet, comprising forty-three ships of war, with 15,000 of the very best French troops, heavy trains of field artillery, and muskets and ammunition sufficient to arm half the Irish peasants. General Hoche had a reputation second only to Napoleon.

One of the French war ships, the "Séduisant," with 500 men on board, struck on a rock, and was lost with all hands. Tone was on board the "Indomptable," an 84-gun line of battle ship, and the "Fraternité" carried Hoche and his staff. Fogs, snow storms, and tremendous

gales repeated the story of the Armada, and the whole fleet was scattered and damaged; four ships were entirely lost, and without any interference of the British navy the fleet had ignominiously to return to Brest, having accomplished nothing.

The English Government, having learned of the conspiracy, employed secret spies—men who had been in the rebel ranks—and under General Lake, made considerable arrests, seized 50,000 muskets, 22 cannon, and 70,000 pikes. They also seized the papers which revealed the arrangements made with France, suppressed a treason newspaper, called the “Northern Star,” and proclaimed martial law.

A large fleet of Dutch war ships, under De Winter, came over for an invasion of Ireland, and was entirely beaten off Camperdown, by Admiral Duncan.

It seems almost impossible that such events could have happened only ninety years ago, but the present position of affairs in Ireland, with many of the Wolfe Tone type, lead us to realise that if France was not too much occupied with thoughts of Germany, there are adventurous spirits in her army who would be ready to repeat the enterprise of Hoche. If Ireland had Home Rule given her to-morrow she would use her power with the continued endeavour, consistent with all her recent utterances, of complete separation from England.

REBELLION OF 1798.

THE eve of the great rebellion of 1798 was attended by a weakness of authority on the one side and a wide-spread system of terror on the other. Men who had witnessed murders were too terrified by the menaces of the lawless to give public evidence, and the very magistrates remem-

bered that they had to continue to live with their families in the midst of a people who would bear them undying hatred, and perhaps visit them with vengeance if they were at all energetic in suppressing the growing feeling of lawlessness.

The lawless leaders had the support of what was then the strongest military power in the world, and it was a forecast that if Bonaparte came into collision with England and compelled this country to his terms, that one condition should be the independence of Ireland.

When Parliament met, the speech from the throne stated that, in consequence of the dangerously disturbed condition of the country, the Government was determined to suppress and end the treason and murder which prevailed.

Amongst the most recent of atrocious murders were those of Colonel St. George and Mr. Uniacke, two of the most active magistrates at Cork. Colonel St. George had dined at Mr. Uniacke's house, and as he and his wife were directing the Colonel to his bedroom, fourteen men, with blackened faces, entered from the back stairs, and all three were cruelly murdered.

News of a very alarming character was being constantly brought to the Castle: that men of all degrees, from country gentlemen, public officers, clerks, and traders, down to workmen and domestics, were uniting for a great rebellion, and it had been ascertained by spies in the committees of the conspirators that 279,896 had enrolled their names to take up arms.

A silk merchant of Dublin, a Mr. Thomas Reynolds, had purchased an estate in Kildare, where he had become acquainted with the traitor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and had been admitted as a member of the committee of United Irishmen, but he became alarmed at the position of things

and secretly communicated with the Government, pointing out how all these traitors could be captured.

Clare had made a great speech in February, which evidently had so affected the movements of Lord Edward Fitzgerald as to make him wish to fly to Paris, and this it was principally which alarmed Reynolds. The speech of Lord Clare, it is thought, affected Napoleon against any active interference on behalf of Ireland.

Murders were multiplying. Early in March two magistrates were openly killed in Kildare, while a group of labourers looked on and allowed the murderers to walk away. The Viceroy (Lord Camden) felt the position to be very embarrassing, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie was sent over to Ireland as the head of the Irish army, and, according to Mr. Froude, he took a wrong estimate of the soldiers, and, instead of improving what was deficient, and fostering what was failing of enthusiasm, he denounced them for incompetence, and actually openly superseded the orders given by the Viceroy. Thus authority was weakened rather than strengthened, considering the tremendous difficulties with which the Government had to grapple.

The Home Government wrote Lord Camden on Abercrombie's attitude, which was communicated to him by the Viceroy, accompanied with expressions of personal respect; but Abercrombie took it ill, and unworthily sent in his resignation, and in a letter dated March 26th, which Lord Camden wrote to Lord Portland, he stated that Sir Ralph Abercrombie's withdrawal had done more to injure His Majesty's interests in Ireland than any other event could have done. Meanwhile the arrangements for the rebellion were proceeding. Wolfe Tone, Arthur O'Connor, and others were in Paris working up interest in their cause, and with them a Catholic priest named O'Coigly.

An important arrest was made at the "King's Head," at Margate. Three men arrived there from Whitstable with a cart full of luggage, and gave the names of Captain Jones, Colonel Morris, and Mr. Williams. They excited the suspicion of the authorities, and were arrested, when the papers on them proved them to be dangerous conspirators; Captain Jones was the priest O'Coigly, Colonel Morris was Arthur O'Connor, and Williams was an English revolutionist named Binns. O'Connor wrote to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, telling him that nothing of a compromising character had been found upon them, but the letter fell into the hands of the officials. This arrest stirred up the insurgents in Dublin, and produced the desire for immediate action, either to give the signal for the general rising or else to disperse and gather elsewhere. Murders were being daily committed. The Government made an important seizure. Reynolds had notified where the committee of conspirators would meet. Major Swan, an officer of police, and twelve constables in plain clothes burst the door and captured eighteen of the general committee. The executive committee sat in an inner room, and of them Jackson was taken.

The Government, however, became half-hearted, and instead of following up their advantage were hindered by the resignation of Abercrombie, and thus the rebels rallied. A magistrate was murdered on his own lawn, private houses were plundered, villages were attacked in open day, and large bodies of insurgents gathered and fired upon the troops. A body of 1000 men rode into Cahir, in Tipperary, examined every Protestant's house, and took all the arms they could find. Officers commanding Yeomanry corps reported themselves as being surrounded by armed insurgents and called for help. A proclamation was issued and *the country was declared to be in rebellion*—the people

were to give up their arms, and the army was to take them by force, if refused, and to restore order. It was discovered that the French Directory had promised to land an army, who were to receive a payment of £3,000,000 sterling, which was to be raised by a sale of the property of the nobles and the clergy. Men were engaged to debauch the soldiers, and Lord Camden wrote on April 2nd (1798), "Almost all the lower priests were bought over, and were ordered at confession to urge the people to stand by the cause of their country."

The revolutionists had prepared lists of those names whose estates were to be confiscated, and, as Mr. Froude expresses it, "the Viceroy and Council were sitting over a loaded mine."

The repeated history of unhappy Ireland proves that when a band of conspirators are acting against the Government, and the wisdom of Parliament determines them to be dangerous to the interests of the country, that when action is decided upon against them, it should be carried out with a precision equal to that which arrests and punishes open violence, or dangerous secret vice in this country; halting measures only encourage rebellion, bring the law into contempt, and calamity upon the law abiding.

The Rebellion of 1798 was the outcome of seven years' deliberate preparation, during which the country was being secretly armed, organizations formed, instructions given for a general rising, and attempts made to poison the loyalty of the soldiers. General Lake took command in chief of the army on the 23rd of April, and on the 24th of May the rebellion burst out. General Lake, being cognizant of the tremendous extent of the dangers he had to meet, entered upon the work of suppression with intense determination, and to the actions of his soldiers during that month the Irish have attributed the *cause* of

the rebellion; but history is quite clear that such a charge is as unreasonable as the cause was impossible.

At the time Lake took the command there was, according to Mr. Froude, scarcely a Protestant family in Ireland who could retire to rest at night without fear of being attacked before morning by assassins. The law was openly set at defiance. An order had been issued to disarm, and Abercrombie had granted ten days for the purpose, which having expired without any result, Lake set to work with his men, the loyal Irish yeomanry, men whose friends had been murdered and who had themselves been marked for death, and it is no wonder that, under such circumstances, these men acted with ferocity. In a month Lake and his troops crippled the rebellion in and about Dublin.

Search was made for arms in Dublin. Five cannon were found in a brewer's yard; four others in a house; stores of arms of all kinds were discovered; men were caught forging pikes, and cartloads of these weapons were seized. A reward of £1000 had been offered for the traitor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and on the 18th of May Major Sirr learned by secret letters of his whereabouts. The next evening, Major Swan, Major Sirr and Captain Ryan, with eight soldiers in plain clothes, went towards the house. An alarm was given, but Swan rushed in and found Lord Edward lying on a bed. Major Swan told him that he had a warrant for his arrest, upon which Fitzgerald jumped up, fired a pistol at Swan's head, which missed fire, and then leapt on him, and stabbed him several times with a dagger. Ryan then arrived, but his pistol snapped, upon which he closed on Fitzgerald with his sword-cane, but Fitzgerald, in the rage of despair, gave him fourteen dagger wounds. Sirr then entered and shot Fitzgerald in the shoulder, who then surrendered, and in a fortnight died, before he could be brought to trial.

The plan of the insurgents was discovered. It provided that on May 23rd action was to be taken: five determined men were to kill or capture each of the Privy Councillors. Lord Clare was to be specially made sure of, the Castle was to be attacked front and rear, the quays occupied, and the mails stopped. The non-arrival of the mail coaches on the 24th of May was to be the signal to the country that Dublin had risen and the districts were to follow. An address was discovered ready to be issued, in which the people were thus invoked:—"Irishmen! Your country is free and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands waiting their fate War, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland. Vengeance, Irishmen!"

The rebellion in the provinces was greatly assisted by the priests of the Romish Church, while the party of infidelity had also assumed an organization; for lodges had been formed to spread the principles of the French Revolution, and to denounce belief in God as a worn-out superstition. Captain Ormsby had been stationed at Rathcool with twenty loyal Armagh Militia. Mr. Clinch, a Catholic gentleman in the district, pretended to be loyal, and raised a company of local infantry—all traitors—whose purpose was to destroy Ormsby and his Protestants; the parish priest who had instigated the plot addressed them in chapel on the 20th of May in two eminently *loyal* sermons; but the whole thing was discovered; Clinch was hanged and the priest transported.

The Protestant clergyman of Dunshaughlin and his family were murdered. A Protestant officer and three Protestant policemen were murdered at Dunboyne. Small

parties of soldiers were surprised and cut to pieces at Westfieldtown. Protestant houses were set on fire at Swords. Dr. Esmonde, a Catholic gentleman, assumed to be *loyal* that he might tamper with the Clare Yeomanry, and Father Higgins, of North Cork, preached *loyal* sermons that he might the more effectively be *dis-loyal* in act. Swayne was commanding at Prosperous, and he being gulled by Esmonde and the priest, was resting in credulous security, when these men led a band of ruffians into the barracks, murdered Swayne, and set fire to the buildings. The surprised soldiers, running from floor to floor, were hailed by a ferocious hurrah from the mob as they had to jump from the windows on to the pikes of the traitors. They then attacked the house of a Protestant gentleman named Brewer, who was an Englishman, and a benefactor of the poor; him they killed with an axe. The cry went out for other "heretics," and in many places terrified families were flying hither and thither for security.

It was discovered that Wexford had been arming for some months. Pikes had been manufactured and distributed in tens of thousands, and besides fowling-pieces, muskets had been introduced. Near Gorey, nineteen parishes were placed in the previous December under the Insurrection Act, but the priests, having called it an unnecessary insult to a harmless and loyal people, the enforcement of the Act was suspended on their representation that they would use their best endeavours to prevent or discover any conspiracy which might arise in the neighbourhood, and on their statement that the people were not United Irishmen, and never would be. Amongst these priests were two notable characters, John and Michael Murphy. Father John Murphy, the son of a peasant, but who had been edu-

cated for the priesthood at Seville, was "a big, coarse, powerful man of forty," and had recently taken an oath of allegiance, and made solemn protests of loyalty, yet this was the man who started the insurrection in his neighbourhood. He commenced on Whit Sunday by setting fire to the premises of his neighbour, Mr. Burrows, the Protestant pastor—a harmless gentleman. Mr. Burrows, from a window, begged for mercy for himself and his flock (some of whom had gone to his house for shelter), and was told that if they came out their lives would be spared. He accordingly came out and was instantly piked, as was also his son, aged 16, and seven male parishioners. Father John then proceeded to the palace of the Protestant bishop, at Ferns, and set fire to such Protestant dwellinghouses as lay in his way. Arrived at the palace he found that the bishop and his family had escaped, so the place was plundered, the valuable library torn to pieces, and the house set on fire. Father John Murphy was now joined by Father Michael Murphy. The two priests and their army of followers, now numbering five thousand men, spread over the adjoining district, sacked houses, burnt them, and killed the "heretics" (Protestants). Colonel Foote, who was stationed at Wexford, hearing of the murders, turned out with less than 150 men, not knowing the number of his opponents. Nearly all Foote's men were destroyed, but Foote managed to get back to the town. Panic spread through the country; Protestant ladies and clergy took refuge in the ships in the harbour, and paid high prices for passages to Wales; for Protestants were murdered wherever they could be found.

Father Roche and twenty other priests assisted at the sacking of Enniscorthy and the piking of the Protestants. At feeding time, cows and oxen were knocked down and

slices actually cut from the living animals and toasted on pikes. A large tub of water was daily blessed to sprinkle the wretched assassins, and make them believe that they were Christ's soldiers. Father John rode at the head of his army, with pistols in his holsters, sword at his side, and a large crucifix in his arms. The Meath militia, 500 strong, were cut down to a man, and the priest and his followers moved into Wexford where they kept a saturnalia for three days; they threw open the gaols, so that the prisoners escaped and the Protestants were put in their places, and the houses of Protestants were sacked.

Another priest, Father Kern, who is described in Gordon's "History of the Rebellion" as "a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity," led the rebels at Vinegar Hill, and other priests acted as officers to lead their parishioners against the Protestants.

At New Ross was an atrocious massacre, included in which was the burning of 184 men, women, and children in a barn thirty-four feet by fifteen feet. A little child crawled out under the door, and a rebel ran his pike into its body and tossed it back into the flames. A few days after, the ruins of the barn were found full of blackened bodies, "all in a standing posture,"—a sickening spectacle! Priests moved up and down the lines in their vestments, carrying crucifixes; and Musgrave records that the following oath was taken by the men before starting, and copies of it were found on the slain bodies:—"I swear by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the Blessed Virgin Mary, that I will burn, destroy, and murder all heretics up to my knees in blood." The carnage at New Ross was hideous. Colonel Vesey commanded the troops, who got a victory, and Musgrave says that 2600 rebels were slain.

These events happened in the June of 1798.

Mr. Froude says that the Irish Protestants, since 1782, had not deserved the confidence of England, and did not possess it; but an altogether wrong impression was abroad of current events. The Irish peasantry were supposed to have been treated so cruelly that they were driven to the atrocious acts of which they were guilty, besides which, the Protestant yeomanry were falsely charged with many cruelties. They did, no doubt, act with desperation in the circumstances in which they were placed, and sometimes with cruelty, but these acts were so trumpeted abroad that nothing else was heard; and they were falsely charged with hundreds of atrocities which they never committed.

Father John continued his work of burning Protestant houses, and was marching on towards Dublin with a following of 27,000 men, according to Mr. Gordon, though Musgrave said 31,000, of whom 5000 had muskets and fowling pieces. He had, also, the guns which he had seized at Three Rocks. They approached Arklow in the afternoon of June 9th, and soon came in near proximity to General Needham and Colonel Skerritt, with their troops, mustering together some 1600 men. The rebels advanced with green banners waving, the priests carrying pistols and crucifixes. A desperate battle ensued, the rebels being led by the priests. Father Michael took a handful of bullets from his pocket, and swore that he had caught them from the guns of the soldiers, and cried to his followers, "Come on, boys, the heretic bullets can never hurt you; you are fighting for your God and Holy Church!" but very soon a round shot struck him and sent him into eternity.

A conspiracy was formed to attempt the destruction, at one blow, of leading county gentlemen who as magistrates had assembled at Antrim, which resulted in the murder

of Lord O'Neil and almost the annihilation of a squadron of dragoons. The movement spread, and an Irish nationality, headed by priests who led the rebels to battle, aimed at another massacre such as that of 1641. It was to be a war of creeds and races, in which the Catholics of the South were to pike and shoot and burn till every Protestant had been destroyed out of the land. England hung back and did not act with any decision or pluck in quelling the insurrection, much to the indignation of the Viceroy; but the loyal forces of Ireland prevailed in the end, although every portion of the kingdom was infected with the poison of disaffection. Protestant prisoners had been told off to be the executioners of their fellows as a preparation for their own deaths. A bishop's chaplain, Father Roche, preached on the enormity of heresy, and day by day gangs of victims were dragged from their hiding places and handed over to executioners. Every day saw men delivered over to the assassins who, sprinkled with "holy water," executed the sentence of "the Church." One poor wretch, who had been imperfectly piked, survived to describe the scene. He was brought out with thirteen others after half-an-hour's confinement in the windmill, and was asked in what religion he would die. He replied, "As a Protestant," whereupon one of the executioners said, "You bloody Orange thief, you are damned, and will go to hell when we put the life out of you." He was stabbed in the body and in the neck, his clothes were torn from him, and he lay in a pile of bleeding bodies; but consciousness returned, and he crawled into a ditch and escaped at dusk.

Father John sometimes harangued the Protestant prisoners, cracking his fingers at them, saying, "You sons of Belial, will you withstand our holy religion which existed 800 years before yours began? You see how our pike-

men will treat you unless there is great reformation in you."

In May, 1798, the rebels camped on Vinegar Hill, opposite Enniscorthy, from which place carpets and blankets were taken for tents. Wine and ale were obtained in abundance, and harps and pianos, taken from the plundered mansions, were used to make music.

One of the murderers on Vinegar Hill, named Beaghan, was executed a year later on the scene of his crimes, and he declared that what he did had been done by order of his superiors. He said that before the rebellion Catholics and Protestants had lived peaceably together, and, for himself, he had found the Protestants better masters and more indulgent landlords than those of his own religion; but after the insurrection broke out, every Protestant was called an Orangeman, and everyone of them was to be killed, to the poorest man in the country. His last words were, "If you Protestants are ever in the power of the Catholics again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave any of you alive; even those who campaigned with you, if things had gone well, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them say so many times."

To have killed three Protestants was counted a passport into Heaven.

The victims were generally men, but Catholic women have been known to collect, in a Protestant man's absence, and kill the Protestant wife left alone.

In Wexford, after drink had been served out to the rebels, a cry was raised "To the gaol!" where 300 Protestant prisoners had been lying for three weeks. A "Court of Justice" was extemporised in a public billiard room, and the prisoners brought in one by one. Only one question was asked. Could it be shown that any one act which, in the estimation of the Court, could be called good, had

been done by the prisoner at the bar? If no witness came forward, the sentence was immediate death, when the unfortunate prisoner was handed over to the rebels outside and surrounded by a yelling mob, in which were more women than men; he was then led out on the bridge, stripped naked, and placed on his knees in the middle of the road. Two pikemen stood in front of him, and two behind; they knelt, said a prayer, then, levelling their pikes, rose and ran upon him, held him aloft for a moment writhing on the points of their pikes, and pitched him over the parapet into the stream; thus, says Mr. Froude, "Ninety-seven men, whose crime was to be of the Protestant religion—country gentlemen, magistrates, tradesmen, merchants, clergymen, were ceremoniously and deliberately murdered." The Catholic clergy all that day, who could have stayed this work, were invisible; but one noble-minded man, Father Corrin, at seven o'clock in the evening, when a fresh batch of victims was brought, threw himself in the way of the murderers, denounced their infernal work, and insisted that it should end.

Of the misgovernment of these days, Mr. Froude speaks with equal plainness; he says:—"For a hundred years the English and Irish Protestants had been affecting to govern Ireland. They had not governed Ireland; they left it in ignorance and misery. The funds which should have provided schools had been squandered on Royal mistresses and bastards. The Church had been sacrificed to political corruption. The Calvinist colonies of the South had dwindled and disappeared for want of teachers. The Presbyterians and Wesleyans who would have supplied them with ministers, had been frowned on by the gentry, and persecuted by the Bishops."

The English Church was apparently as dead, spiritually, as the Roman; they both thought, or affected to think,

that true religion consisted in belonging to the outward organization of religious forms, instead of being a spiritual power governing the character, the affections, and the will. "God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him, must worship Him in spirit, and in truth," said the Lord Jesus Christ.

Lord Cornwallis was appointed Viceroy in June, 1798, when the strength of the rebellion had been broken, and like every Englishman who first becomes acquainted with the native Irish, he found much in their character to attract and interest him, and he thought them an innocent and cruelly injured people, who had been driven mad by tyranny; but he soon found out, as Cromwell did in his day, that although they needed gentleness and kindness it must be that of inflexible authority and even-handed justice.

During the trials which followed this rebellion, were some usual instances of regret when too late; thus, one Sheares, who had been found guilty of high treason and inciting the people, wrote piteously to the Chancellor whom he had wished to murder. He said: "Tell the Chancellor that I will pray for him for ever, and that Government shall ever find me what they wish. Oh, my family! my wife! my children! my mother! Go to them. Let them throw themselves at the Chancellor's and Lord Shannon's feet."

ATTEMPTED FRENCH INVASION.

At the solicitation of some of the Irish refugees the French authorities were induced to attempt a descent on Ireland, which they did on the 22nd of August, 1798. The expedition consisted of about 1000 men, under General Humbert, who landed at Killala, in Mayo. They were to be followed by General Hardi and 3000 men. Teeling and Matthew Tone accompanied them as repre-

sentatives of the Irish cause. The French squadron consisted of the "Hoche," a seventy-four gun ship, and eight frigates. Wolfe Tone, a ringleader of the rebels, was with the French on board the "Hoche." The British, however, were informed of the French movements, and Sir John Warren, in command of a British fleet, came sailing down upon them, and after six hours fighting the survivors of the French crews were brought on shore as prisoners. Wolfe Tone was amongst them, but was not recognised, as he wore the uniform of a French officer. The French officers were kindly received, and invited to a breakfast by Lord Cavan. Wolfe Tone was amongst them, and might have escaped notice, but that he rashly recognised an old acquaintance whom he met at Lord Cavan's. He was arrested and sentenced to be hanged as a traitor, but that night he cut his throat with a penknife, from the effects of which he died a week afterwards. Wolfe Tone said that it was the bane of Ireland to be connected with Great Britain, and that from his youth he had laboured to break the connection, and to that end had sought any assistance obtainable.

The spirit which animated the Irish in 1798, was the same as that which prevailed in 1641, and which prevails with the Nationalists now. Prisoners of the 1798 rebellion, who had paraded their treasons before Ireland and the world in bold bravado, admitted that they had conspired to raise a rebellion assisted by a French army; that they had a perpetual enmity against the British Government, and that they would either have their own way or would be extirpated.

In January, 1799, at the opening of the Irish Houses of Parliament, the speech from the throne referred to the question of a Legislative Union, which was greatly opposed. In 1704 the Irish Parliament had even petitioned for in-

corporation, but had been refused on unworthy and dishonourable grounds, the result being that neither side afterwards cared to renew the question; but the rebellion of 1798 presented Ireland to the British in too serious a light to allow a separation any longer to continue, whereupon great efforts were made to accomplish the Union. The debate lasted twenty-two hours, and the voting was exactly equal, 106 to 106.

When the Irish Parliament met the next year at College Green, Dublin, in January, 1800, the question of the Union, which had then already been discussed and recommended in the British Parliament, again arose. Grattan strongly opposed it, but Lord Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, introduced a Government measure, and obtained a majority of forty-three votes—158 to 115; but, as a proof of the corruption of those days, the majority was secured by bribery. Pensions, peerages, promotions, places were freely offered to those who would support the Ministry, and more than a million and a quarter sterling was spent on such objects. Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy, in a letter to General Ross, wrote, “I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court. My occupation is to negotiate and job with the most corrupt people under Heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without a Union the British Empire must be dissolved. Nothing but a conviction that a Union is absolutely necessary could make me endure the shocking task which is imposed upon me.”

On the subject of the Union, Lord Clare delivered a memorable speech in the Irish House of Lords on February 10th, 1800, which lasted for four hours. He said: “A majority in the Parliament of Great Britain will defeat the Minister of the day. A majority in the

Parliament of Ireland against the King's Government goes directly to separate the Kingdom from the British Crown. If it continues, separation or war is the inevitable issue, and therefore it is that the General Executive of the Empire, so far as it is essential to retain Ireland a member of it, is at the mercy of the Irish Parliament."

THE UNION.

ON the 27th of March, 1800, the Irish Houses of Parliament consented to the Act of Union, and presented a joint address to the King. The Royal Assent was given July 2nd, 1800, and the Union was proclaimed January 1st, 1801. The Irish Legislature, which had always been a corrupt assembly and never truly representative of the Irish nation, ceased to exist.

The national flag we now use, known as the Union Jack, then came into being. It is a union of the cross of St. Patrick with those of St. George and St. Andrew representing the three kingdoms.

In 1803, Robert Emmet, a young barrister, attempted to raise another insurrection. He had been in France the year before, and was encouraged to hope for aid from Napoleon. He employed constantly forty men in making pikes and rockets, and planned the seizure of Dublin Castle, but an explosion occurred in his stores, and learning that the soldiers were approaching his hiding-place in Marshalsea Lane, he went out into Thomas Street with about eighty men with the intention of seizing the Castle. The Chief Justice—Lord Kilwarden—and Colonel Brown were murdered. Emmet, however, was arrested about a month after and hanged.

In 1805, Henry Grattan was elected a Member of the English Parliament, representing the Borough of Malton.

His principal object was to obtain a removal of the disabilities of the Irish Roman Catholics, but he did not succeed.

In January, 1806, William Pitt died. He had been Prime Minister since 1783, and had consequently had many difficulties to contend with in Irish affairs. The Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Richmond were successively Viceroy's of Ireland, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington, was the Irish Secretary.

Daniel O'Connell, who was educated in Ireland and in France, and who was called to the Bar in the celebrated year 1798, when 23 years of age, made a public speech in the Royal Exchange, Dublin, in 1800, against the Union. He succeeded well at the Bar, and soon became a leader of the advanced guard of the Catholics, who were determined to carry out a policy of "constant agitation."

In 1810, Daniel O'Connell addressed a public meeting at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, to agitate for a repeal of the Union, and subsequently urged on the Catholic organizations.

Agrarian outrages became very numerous in the years following, when there was much distress in England through the fall in prices at the end of the long European War.

GEORGE THE FOURTH'S VISIT TO IRELAND.

IN 1820, George the Fourth commenced his reign, and in the following year visited Ireland, where he was received with enthusiasm, and where he stayed a month, but while loyal addresses were pouring in from all sides, yet outrage and murder obtained in many places.

In 1822, that magnificent body of men, known as the Royal Irish Constabulary was constituted.

In 1823, the Irish Catholic Association was formed, principally by O'Connell, and a weekly fund was collected to defray the cost of the agitation. This illegal society was suppressed by Lord Liverpool, who carried a measure against it.

The Bill forbade meetings for more than fourteen successive days, but O'Connell organized a new Society, which met every year for exactly fourteen days.

In 1828 the Duke of Wellington formed a Ministry which settled the long-vexed question of Catholic Emancipation. The measure was carried to prevent the expected outbreak of civil war. This Act enabled Catholics, upon taking a prescribed oath, to sit in the Lords or Commons, and to hold civil, military or corporate offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant.

SIR JONAH BARRINGTON'S SKETCHES.

THE "Personal Sketches of his own Times," by Sir Jonah Barrington, K.C., Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, published in 1827, give a remarkable insight into Irish manners and customs of his period. He describes Irish dissipation in 1778: it was winter time. His father apparently kept a pack of hounds, and the weather being too hard for hunting, his eldest brother sent a hogshead of superior claret to the huntsman's cottage, had a fat cow killed and hung up, windows closed to keep out the light, one room filled with straw and numerous blankets, as a common bed chamber, and another as a kitchen for the servants. Claret, cold, mulled, or buttered, was to be the beverage for the whole company, and in addition to the cow, chicken, bacon, and bread were to be

the only admitted viands. Pipers and fiddlers enlivened the banquet until the provisions were consumed.

Irish inns of that time were a composition of slovenliness, bad meat, and worse cooking. When a landlady was once asked if the sheets were well aired she declared that they were, because every gentleman who had been to the house during the past fortnight had slept in them.

Duelling was greatly in vogue at that time. Barrington's brother and M'Kenzie fought with pistols; each fired and missed, whereupon Gillespie, M'Kenzie's second, shot at and killed his principal's opponent. Gillespie was tried and the verdict was "justifiable homicide," the pleading having been that irritating expressions had been used by the murdered man.

About the year 1777 the duellists or, as Sir Jonah Barrington calls them, *Fire Eaters*, were in very great repute in Ireland. No young fellow had finished his education till he had exchanged some shots with his acquaintances, and when a man proposed to a lady, it was a custom to ask, "What family is he of? Did he ever blaze"?

Sir Jonah asserts, "Two hundred and twenty-seven memorable and official duels have actually been fought during my grand climacteric," and he furnishes a list of some of them.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Earl Clare, fought the Master of the Rolls, Curran.

The Chief Justice (K.B.), Lord Clonmell, fought Lord Tyrawley (a Privy Councillor), Lord Llandaff, and two others.

The Judge of the County of Dublin, Egan, fought the Master of the Rolls, Roger Barrett, and three others.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Honourable

Isaac Corry, fought the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, a Privy Councillor, and another.

A Baron of the Exchequer, Baron Medge, fought his brother-in-law, and two others.

The Chief Justice (C.P.), Lord Norbury, fought Fire-eater Fitzgerald, and two other gentlemen, and frightened Napper Tandy and several besides.

The Judge of the Prerogative Court, Doctor Dingenan, fought one barrister and frightened another on the ground.

The Chief Counsel to the Revenue, Henry Deane Grady, fought Counsellor O'Mahon, Counsellor Campbell, and others.

The Master of the Rolls fought Lord Buckinghamshire, the Chief Secretary, etc.

The Provost of the University of Dublin, the Right Honourable Heby Hutchinson, fought Mr. Doyle, Master in Chancery, and some others.

The Chief Justice (C.P.), Patterson, fought three country gentlemen, one of them with swords, another with guns, and wounded all of them.

The Right Honourable George Ogle, a Privy Councillor, fought Barney Coyle, a distiller.

Thomas Wallace (K.C.) fought Mr. O'Gorman, the Catholic Secretary.

Counsellor O'Connell fought the Orange Chieftain, the Collector of the Customs of Dublin.

The Honourable Francis Hutchinson fought the Right Honourable Lord Mountmorris.

To show how fighting seemed inbred as a custom in those days, an instance is given of a gentleman soothing his little boy, who was crying, by promising to buy him "a nice pair of pistols to-morrow," and then added, "*We'll shoot them all in the morning.*" The child was

delighted, dried his eyes, and said, "Yes, yes, we'll shoot them all in the morning"!

Single combat was authorized by law, and frequently performed before the high authorities and their ladies—bishops, judges, and other persons of high office generally attending to witness the spectacle.

The last exhibition which Barrington had read of he thus records. Two Irish gentlemen, Connor MacCormac O'Connor and Teige MacKilpatrick O'Connor, fought with broad swords and skeans—large knives—in the Castle of Dublin, in the presence of the archbishop and all the chief authorities and ladies of rank. They had hewed each other for a full hour when Mr. MacKilpatrick O'Connor happened to miss his footing, Mr. MacCormac O'Connor began to cut his head off very expertly with his knife, which, after a good deal of cutting, struggling, and hacking, he at length effected, and having got the head clean off the shoulders, he handed it to the Lords Justices (who were present), and by whom the head and neck was most graciously received.

But duelling was not peculiar to Ireland only, it prevailed also in England and throughout the continent. We might expect that the same spirit of enlightenment which has stamped out duelling, would obtain also to stamp out the outrages on persons which have disgraced the eighties of this century. Differences are now settled without duels, and differences ought to be settled without outrages, which are far worse than duels, because a duel gives an equal chance to each, whereas the recent agrarian outrages of Ireland have been and are a cowardly stab in the back, in the dark.

A remarkable instance of self-decapitation is recorded. In the year 1800 a labourer, dwelling near Athy in Kildare, while carrying a scythe loosely over his shoulder, saw

a very fine salmon in the River Barron, and in making a tremendous effort to strike it, got his neck so placed as that the scythe separated the vertebræ, and the head tumbled into the water, together with an ear of a companion, who was standing by and within reach of the motion of the scythe blade.

The Irish have a great dread of hydrophobia, and it was considered "a legal and meritorious act" to smother any person who had reached an advanced stage of the disease, and if the patient made a noise similar to barking, it was regarded as indisputable of hydrophobia, and he was killed accordingly at once. The process was to smother him between two feather beds, one being laid on him, and a sufficient number of his neighbours lying on the upper one till suffocation proved him to be "out of danger." Sir Jonah Barrington records a case of one Daniel Dempsey, of Rushhall, in Queen's County, who was so treated, about 1781. This would now be considered murder, but the verdict recorded at the coroner's inquest, was "Daniel Dempsey died *in consequence of a mad dog.*"

Sir Jonah Barrington gives an amusing account of a singular custom which prevailed in the Irish House of Commons. On the day when the business of the budget was to be opened, the Speaker invited the whole of the members to dinner in the House in his own and the adjoining chambers. Several peers were accustomed to mix with the company, all distinction of party was entirely laid aside, and "harmony, wit, wine, and good humour reigned triumphant." The festivities were repeated on the second day, but on the third day, when the report was brought in, the scene was entirely changed, and all the earnestness of party exhibited.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT.

IN 1831 O'Connell, being encouraged by the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, instead of being grateful for the realisation of that which had been the desire of his heart, was again actively engaged in agitating for a Repeal of the Union. He revived the "Catholic Association" under the titles of "Friends of Ireland" and the "Anti-Union Association." He was arrested, with seven associates, tried for sedition, and found guilty. No sentence was however passed, and he went through the country as a triumphant hero. Such was the weakness of the Executive!

In 1832 an Irish Reform Bill was passed extending the franchise, the effect of which was to increase the Irish members by five, making their number 105.

In 1834 the Irish refused to pay tithes and church cess, whereupon the Church Temporalities Act was passed, whereby ecclesiastical expenses were reduced through the removal of two of the four archbishops and eight of the eighteen bishops, the church cess was abolished, and tithes were to be paid in future, not by the tenants, but by the landlords. National schools were established in Ireland by Lord Stanley.

O'CONNELL'S CONTINUED AGITATION.

DANIEL O'CONNELL still continued to agitate in Ireland, and the country was greatly disturbed; following the fierce strife over the tithes question, were municipal reform, and provision for the Irish poor.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE year 1837 brought our beloved Queen to the throne, and the Melbourne Government passed an Act legalizing a compulsory rate for the maintenance of the helpless poor of Ireland, and heavy grants were made for erecting poor-houses throughout Ireland.

In 1841, Daniel O'Connell again was actively engaged in seditious work, by starting a Repeal Association; his great object, like that of the present agitators, being to separate Ireland from England. General subscriptions were set on foot and monster meetings held. At Tara it was estimated that the multitude numbered 250,000 persons to hear O'Connell dilate on the supposed glorious advantages which would accrue to Ireland if it were only separated from England. O'Connell's popularity had grown so much that another universal rebellion was feared, and not without cause, and an arranged meeting to be held, as usual in Ireland, on a Sunday, was forbidden by proclamation. The military were drawn up, the guns of the "Pigeon House" were pointed so as to command the roads, and the mob was cowed into inaction—the meeting was not held.

A week after this, Daniel O'Connell, his son John O'Connell, Ray, the secretary of the Repeal Association; Dr. Gray, of the "Freeman's Journal"; Charles Gavan Duffy, of the "Nation" newspaper, and five others were arrested on charges of conspiracy and sedition. For a long time no jury could be formed, but ultimately the difficulty was got over, and the prisoners were found "guilty." O'Connell was sentenced to be imprisoned for one year, to pay a heavy fine, and give security for £5000 for good behaviour. The judgment of the Irish Court was

actually reversed by the House of Lords, and O'Connell was released after less than four months' imprisonment; but it broke his spirit, and he went to Genoa, and died there in 1847. The others suffered nine months' imprisonment and a fine of £50 each.

In 1845, famine, pestilence, and fever prevailed in Ireland. The potatoes, the staple food of the Irish peasants, rotted in the ground through an unusual wet summer. Immense quantities of corn and Indian meal were provided by the English; many private persons sending individually and by societies. The generosity of the English character was exemplified in the efforts made to relieve the distressed Irish. It is stated that by emigration and famine the population was reduced by two millions.

The peasants in some of the congested districts in Ireland are almost entirely, for some periods of the year, in comparative idleness, living on their stored-up potatoes; they exhibit little or no enterprise.

In 1846, Sir Robert Peel's Bill to repress outrage in Ireland was defeated. His Government, besides increasing the annual sum granted to the Catholic College at Maynooth by £26,000, granted £100,000 for founding three colleges for secular education. Under Lord Russell's Government, from 1846 to 1852, various remedial efforts were made by the institution of public works, such as road-making, land reclamation, supply of bread stuffs, establishment of out-door relief for paupers, advancing capital for railways, promoting emigration, etc.

The year 1848, so disturbed in France, was not a year of peace in Ireland. The French Revolution stirred up kindred spirits in Ireland to kindred acts. An outcome of the Repeal Association aimed at carrying out measures more violent than O'Connell ever contemplated. William

Smith O'Brien, Meagher, a barrister ; John Mitchell, editor of the "United Irishman"; and Macmanus, engaged in a Liverpool shipping business, were leaders in the revolutionary movement. O'Brien and Meagher went to Paris, and had interviews with Lamartine, the President of the French Republic. On their return an insurrection was established, upon which the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended ; the authorities acted with vigour, and the insurrection was put down.

O'Brien ran away, but after a time was captured, tried for treason, and sentenced to death. He was, however, spared by the mercy of the Queen, and finally transported, but ultimately pardoned and allowed to return to Ireland.

Her Majesty the Queen visited Ireland in 1849, and also in 1853, during which year Ireland was relieved of £4,500,000 due to the Consolidated Fund.

The Jubilee number of the "Times," June 22nd, 1887, contains the following in reference to Her Majesty the Queen's visits to Ireland :—

"The Queen has had ample experience of the loyalty of her Irish subjects on the occasion of each of her visits to the sister island. On her first arrival in 1849 in the Cove of Cork, thenceforth known as Queenstown, she received a welcome which for genuine enthusiasm has seldom been surpassed. The people were to be seen pouring in dark streams over the hillsides, and every house, no matter how poor, showed some decoration, if it was only a bit of calico on the end of a stick, or a branch of evergreen stuck in the thatch. When she appeared on deck she was received with 'one wild huzza of illimitable length and loudness,' which was taken up from either bank during her passage up the river. On arriving at the city of 'rebel' Cork she was received with no less enthu-

siasm, and was presented by the Corporation with an address breathing the sincerest loyalty and devotion. During her progress through the streets she was greeted with every demonstration of delight, and we are told by a contemporary record that, 'although in portions of the route many of the people who crowded the streets looked poor and haggard,' as they must have done so soon after the famine, 'there was a heartiness in the welcome of the most poverty-stricken that indicated an enthusiasm as pure and generous in its impulse as it was unaffected in its manifestation.'

"When the Royal Squadron put in at Waterford every pane of glass in Passage and Ballyhack was illuminated, bonfires blazed on all the hills, and the people cheered till past midnight. The landing at Kingstown was a memorable scene for those who witnessed it. The two great piers, each a mile in length, which enclose the harbour were literally blackened by the mass of people which thronged them; the harbour was crammed with boats and yachts as full as it could be, and the tops of the houses were covered with spectators. The Queen stepped ashore amid a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm, the people cheering and huzzaing again and again. 'Oh! Queen, dear,' shouted an old lady who had obtained a place on the jetty, and was especially enthusiastic over the Royal children, 'make one of them Prince Patrick, and all Ireland will die for you'—a suggestion which was carried into effect at the christening of the Duke of Connaught the following year. The entry into Dublin was nothing short of a triumphal progress. 'Dublin is literally gone mad with enthusiasm,' wrote the 'Times' correspondent, 'and all classes seem to have gone clean daft.' At the city gates an address was presented by the Corporation the members of which rushed round the carriage cheering

so vociferously at the first words of the Queen's reply that she was totally unable to finish it. There was scarcely a house from the centre of the city to the furthest suburbs that was not illuminated in the evening, and though rain came down towards midnight the enthusiasm of the people was in no way diminished. Next day the Queen visited the various public institutions without an escort, and then followed the review in Phoenix Park and the visit to Carton, the Duke of Leinster's seat, where the country people went wild with delight when Her Majesty drove among them. Her reception in Belfast, it is needless to add, was no less enthusiastic than that which she had experienced elsewhere.

"The Queen's next visit, four years later, was solely for the purpose of visiting the Dublin Exhibition, and the inhabitants of other parts of the country had no opportunity of testifying their loyalty and affection: but her reception in the capital was fully as warm as on the previous occasion. In 1861, she paid her third and last visit to Ireland, and the enthusiasm of the people seemed rather to have grown than otherwise through lapse of time. At the review at the Curragh they never ceased cheering, whether the Queen's carriage stood still or not, and at Killarney, no sooner had she bowed and smiled than the people were over the barriers which were meant to restrain them, and poured along the road in a tumultuous stream, with the most uproarious demonstrations of loyalty. A stag hunt on the lake had been arranged for her entertainment, but as the royal barges rowed along the shore the peasants kept up such shrieks of welcome that the terrified deer broke through the ring of drivers and escaped into the depths of the woods. It is worthy of note that the masters of the hounds which turned out to amuse Her Majesty were nephews of O'Connell, and

that the Liberator's brother was one of her guests at Muckcross.

"The next visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales, two years ago was, all things considered, wonderfully successful. The lower orders in Dublin turned out and cheered in spite of themselves, or rather of their leaders, and though there were some disagreeable incidents further south, they were the result of careful organization, and not a spontaneous expression of feeling. The Prince's expedition into the slums of Dublin without escort fairly took the people by storm. 'Glory be to God!' ejaculated one old woman, 'he's been in Elbow Lane.' An English visitor asked a book-stall keeper to give him the worst paper he had, as he wanted to see what they thought of the Prince. 'Never mind what we think of him,' said the man, as he produced a copy of 'United Ireland'; 'didn't we give him a grand reception?'

"The collection for the Women's Jubilee Offering has been attended with great success in Ireland, the women of the poorer class of Roman Catholics, which is usually regarded as wholly Nationalist, responding with an alacrity and genuine delight which would astonish some persons in this country. One woman with a young family and a husband, earning only 11s. a week, insisted on giving a shilling, though she was assured that a penny would be amply sufficient. 'So I'll have the majority of being sent up to the Queen,' exclaimed another woman, on learning that the names of all the contributors would be placed before Her Majesty. 'I haven't got a penny, black or white, to-day,' said another, 'but I must have it on Monday, for she's worthy of it,' 'I'm glad to tell ye, ma'am, I've got another sixpence for our gracious Queen,' said a woman who had already contributed a like amount herself. 'I remember well the day she was

crowned,' said another, 'and everyone was delighted, and she's a good woman.' 'I give it with the greatest of pleasure,' said one of rather a better class, a coachman's wife, 'for she's a good woman, and we all look up to her. And wouldn't she be terribly annoyed if she knew the dreadful times we're subjected to in Ireland?' 'Well, there's a penny,' said another woman, with a mixture of humour and simplicity, 'and I'm sorry to hear she's in such need; but sure that'll help her to pay her passage to Ireland.' And if the Queen were to visit that country even now she would probably meet with a reception which would astonish everyone."

The following chapter, headed "The Conspiracy," is taken from Mr. Trench's book, "Realities of Irish Life," which gives a most interesting and graphic account of a conspiracy to murder him by lawless agitators, called "Ribbonmen," and which is illustrative of the condition of society in Ireland in the days following the rebellion of 1848. It finds its counterpart to-day.

THE CONSPIRACY.

"THE death of Joe McKey threw a temporary damp over the plots of the Ribbon Confederacy; but I soon perceived that active steps were being taken by other parties to rouse the people to resistance, and to effect the much-desired object of 'putting Mr. Trench out of the way.' A cautious and organised conspiracy was now set on foot. I was informed, from private and trustworthy sources, that large subscriptions were being collected to pay the murderer who would consent '*to do the job*'; that £50 was offered to anyone who would shoot me; and I was warned in the most earnest but friendly manner that my life was in imminent danger.

“ At first I could scarcely credit the truth of all these warnings. I was unconscious of having done one harsh act ; I had not ejected one single tenant from the estate. I had availed myself of my original compact with Lady Bath, as arranged on my first accepting the agency of the estate, that I should never be required to turn out any tenant, even for non-payment of rent, without being able to offer him a free passage to any port in America he chose, giving him at the same time his stock and his crop, forgiving him all arrears, and allowing him to take away all that he had, provided he would only surrender the worn-out land whenever he became unable to pay for it. Liberality such as this, I well knew, had not been always exercised by landlords in similar cases ; but I took care that there should be no misunderstanding about it ; and I announced these regulations in the most public manner in the Estate Office, at the Poor Law Board, and whenever opportunity occurred. Notwithstanding all this, however, I found a deep-rooted determination growing and increasing amongst a large body of the tenantry that they would not, under any circumstances, quit the land they had so long held almost rent-free ; and perceiving that measures had been taken to provide them with the means of living elsewhere, if they could not pay for their holdings, they resolutely determined to have me murdered, which would at least afford them a temporary respite, and perhaps deter, by the terror thus likely to be established, any other man from undertaking so dangerous a task as that of enforcing the payment of rent from that portion of the tenantry of the Bath Estate who felt disinclined to pay.

“ I need not say, that by no means all the tenants on the estate joined in, or approved of, these proceedings. Amongst the higher classes of tenants there were many

who I firmly believe would have risked their own lives to save mine; and the many friendly peasants who gave me private warning of my danger, proved also that amongst a large portion of the lower classes the system now entered on was against their wishes. But partly through the terror established by the Ribbon Confederacy, and partly from a general feeling which then prevailed in the country, that all landlords and agents ought to be 'put down,' there could be no question that a considerable number of the tenantry, comprising even men 'well to do' in the world, subscribed, or tacitly approved of the measures which were now in progress for getting me 'put out of the way,'—the ugly word 'murdered' is seldom used in Ireland when alluding to the killing of a landlord or agent.

"The temper of a portion of the peasantry at this time around Carrickmacross, and on the borders of the counties of Armagh and Louth, was very bad indeed. Mr. Mauleverer, a gentleman residing near Crossmaglen, had been most barbarously murdered a short time before.* He was a magistrate and a land agent, and of a bold and fearless disposition; but mere boldness without caution is an unsafe protection from the stealthy attacks of the Ribbonman. Mr. Mauleverer usually carried pistols about him; but on this occasion he was going to meet the train at Culloville station, only a short distance from his house; and thinking that there could be no danger during so short a journey, he put his pistols in his hat-box and locked them up, intending on his return to have them ready for use and to be well prepared. He drove to the train on a hired outside car, and just as he came to a

* Mr. Mauleverer was murdered on May 23rd, 1850. Two men were tried for the murder, but acquitted.

lonely part of the road, about a mile from Culloville station, two men leaped out with bludgeons in their hands. Mr. Mauleverer instantly snatched at his hat-box to get his pistols; but his arms were suddenly seized, and he was pinioned so that he could not unlock the hat-box; and in this state, held down by a false ruffian upon the car, he was brutally murdered, and his brains dashed out upon the road. Mr. Morant, of Carrickmacross, was in the country at the time; he rode to the spot soon afterwards, and saw the blood lying in pools upon the road where the murder had been committed.

“Occurrences like this had a decided tendency to rouse the worst passions of the ill-disposed amongst the peasantry; and having once, as it were, tasted blood, there was no crime that *some* of them were not ready to commit, to put down a landlord or an agent.

“At length my secret friends informed me that matters were drawing to a crisis; that a meeting had been held amongst the leaders of the Ribbon Association; that I had been formally tried by a judge and jury in a large barn at one of the tenant’s houses; that I had been found guilty of being an ‘exterminator’ (though I had not evicted a single tenant); and that they knew they had no chance of having things any longer their own way ‘*unless Trench was put off the walk*’: such was the expression used for a final determination that I should be deliberately murdered.

“Steps were accordingly taken to have this sentence carried into effect. Money was collected; and after a little time two men were chosen (neither of whom lived on the estate, and neither of whom had I ever known or injured), as the instruments of the intended crime. One of these was a bold, active, young man named Hodgins—I believe he had been a navvy employed at some railway works near Castleblaney, and was quite a stranger in the

locality. The other was an idle, good-for-nothing fellow, living in a small hut between Carrickmacross and Inniskeen, near the estate, but not actually on it. He was a weak, small man, but clever and cunning to a degree, of great resource in difficulties, and, I suspect, an arrant coward at heart. His name was Thornton. He did not seem to be naturally of a cruel or bloody disposition, but he took delight in waylaying, and plotting, and hiding, and contriving my death, much in the same way that a deer-stalker of the present day enjoys the various contrivances of stealthy approach by which he can get a shot at the antlered monarch of the glen.

“The graphic description afterwards given to me of this Ribbon trial by Thornton himself, in his prison cell in Monaghan, who was present at the whole scene, as one of the hired assassins, was strange and curious. Notice had been sent round a short time before to some of the most active and trusted Ribbonmen that ‘Trench was to be tried’ on a certain night. The parties met accordingly at one of the chief Ribbonmen’s houses, situated centrally on the estate. They did not confine themselves to the orthodox number of twelve, as I believe there were fifteen or sixteen present. They were presided over by the owner of the farm, a man well known to me, and holding a considerable quantity of land. The house where the trial took place was a large barn, in which was placed a long table, forms were arranged for seats, and plenty of whisky was supplied by a barefooted girl in attendance. The president or judge sat on a chair at the head of the table. The party drank for some time in silence, or speaking to one another only in whispers; and when all were well steeped in liquor, the president—with a curious silent leap over the whole of the accusation and prosecution, and even the name of the accused, all of which the jurors

were supposed perfectly to understand—broke the silence for the first time, and said aloud—

“ ‘ Well, boys, can anyone say anything in his defence ? ’ ”

“ There was a short silence, when one of the conspirators said—

“ ‘ He gave me an iron gate.’ ”

“ ‘ May your cattle break their necks in it ! ’ replied the president.

“ ‘ He gave me slates and timber to roof my house,’ said another.

“ ‘ May the roof soon rot and fall ! ’ replied the president.

“ ‘ He drained my land,’ said another.

“ ‘ May the crop sour in the heart of it ! ’ replied the president.

“ ‘ He gave a neighbour of mine wine for a sick child,’ observed another.

“ ‘ The child died ! ’ said the president.

“ All were again silent.

“ ‘ Guilty,’ said the president. ‘ Boys, he *must die* ; and now let us draw lots for the one that will do it.’ ”

“ There was some hesitation when this terrible process was proposed ; at last one of the men said—

“ ‘ There is no occasion to draw lots ; the men to do the job are here, and are both ready and willing.’ ”

“ And so it proved. The two assassins had been introduced, and were present at the whole scene, and then and there were sworn to follow me and hunt me from day to day, from night to night, and from place to place, to watch my movements, to make themselves acquainted with my person, and never to leave my track night or day, until they should leave me a bloody corpse.

“ The oath having been sworn, all again set themselves round the table to drink. More liquor was introduced ;

and the business of the evening having been satisfactorily concluded, much merriment and hilarity were indulged in. Many wild and exciting stories were told of landlords and agents who had been murdered, of the plots and contrivances by which they had been successively waylaid, of the hairbreadth escapes of the 'boys who had done it,' and many jokes were passed at the victims being so suddenly 'sent to hell!'

"By degrees, as the liquor told upon the party, the conversation grew fast and furious, and various subjects were introduced and commented on in their own wild way.

" 'They say,' observed one of the leaders, 'that if the boys had held out well when they rose in 1641, they could have had the country to themselves, and driven every Saxon out of it. I hear there was great sport up at the Castle at Carrickmacross that time, and that they put a rope round the agent's neck and were going to hang him at his own hall-door.'

" 'Bad luck to them for spalpeens that they didn't hang him!' said another. 'If we had the country all to ourselves now, I know how it would be.'

" 'Some says it's the land laws that's mighty bad,' observed another; 'that it's them that's crushing us down, and that they are going to bring in a Bill, as they call it, to alter them.'

" 'A curse upon the land laws!' cried the president, 'and all concerned in them. It's the *land itself* we want, and not all this bother about the laws. The laws is not so bad in the main, barrin' they make us pay rent at all. What good would altering the laws do us? Sure we have tenant-right, and fair play enough, for that matter, for Trench never puts any one off the land that's able to pay his rent, and stand his ground on it. *But why would we pay rent at all?* That's the question, say I. Isn't the

land our own, and wasn't it our ancestors' before us, until these bloody English came and took it all away from us? My curse upon them for it—but we will tear it back out of their hearts' blood yet.'

" 'In troth, then, ye'll have tough work of it before ye do,' rejoined another, 'Them Saxons is a terrible strong lot to deal with. They beat down ould Ireland before, and I doubt but they'll hold on the land still, and beat her down again, rise when ye may.'

" 'None of your croakin',' cried the president. 'Sure it's not more than three hundred years since they took it all from us, and many a country has risen and held its own again after a longer slavery than that. I say, THE LAND we must have, and cursed be the hand and withered the arm that will not strike a blow to gain it!'

" 'Some say it's the Church that's crushing us,' suggested one of the party, who had not spoken before.

" 'Damn the Church, and you along with it!' cried the president, in a passion. 'What harm does the Church do you or any one else? The gentlemen that owns it are quiet dacent men, and often good to the poor. *It's the land*, I say again, *it's the land*, we want. The Saxon robbers took it from our forefathers, and I say again we'll wrench it out of their hearts' blood; and what better beginning could we have than to blow Trench to shivers off the walk?'

" 'True for ye,' said another, 'so far as that goes; but ye are wrong about the Church for all that. Sure isn't it what they call the dominan' Church, and what right has it to dominate over our own clargy, who are as good as them any day. Up wid our clargy, and down with the dominan' Church! say I. Besides,' continued he, more softly, 'maybe if we had once a hold of the Church lands the landlords' lands would be 'asier come at after.'

“ ‘Why, then, that may be true too,’ said the president; ‘down with the Church, down with the landlords, down with the agents, down with everything, say I, that stands in the way of our own green land coming back to us again.’

“ ‘What wonderful grand fun we’ll have fightin’ among ourselves when it does come!’ said a thick-set Herculean fellow at the lower end of the table.

“ ‘Well now, I often thought of that,’ replied his neighbour in a whisper. ‘It’ll be bloody work then in airnest, as sure as you and I live to see it. Anything that has happened up to this will be only a joke to what will happen then.’

“ ‘And what matter?’ cried the advocate for fighting. ‘Sure, wouldn’t it be far better any day to be fightin’ among friends, than have no fightin’ at all, and be slaves to our enemies? By the powers!’ cried he, and he gave the table a salient stroke with his shillelagh that made the punch-glasses leap, ‘but I would rather go out as our ancestors did before us, with the skeine in our hands and the skins of wild beasts upon our backs, and fight away till the best man had it, than be the slaves we are now, paying rint in the office, and acknowledging them Saxons as our landlords!’ *

“ At length the party seemed inclined to break up, when the president, with whom I was well acquainted, as he rose, called out to the sworn assassins, who were sitting drinking behind some sacks—

“ ‘Well, boys, don’t shoot him until after next Thurs-

* “That a strong feeling existed then amongst the peasantry of Ireland (and exists even now), that the ancient families would yet recover the forfeited estates, there is no doubt. In my intercourse amongst them, this idea has cropped up in many ways and on repeated occasions.

day, anyhow; he promised to give me two iron gates for my farm on that day, and I may as well get that much out of him before he dies.'

"A roar of laughter followed this disinterested respite of my life, and the party were about to separate, when one of them called out—

" 'Boys, oughtn't we to give him fair notice?'

" 'For why and for what?' asked the president, grimly; 'isn't he condemned to die, and what notice would he want?'

" 'By this and by that,' returned the first speaker, 'but I say he *must* have notice. I will never consent to his death until he be fairly warned first; it is the rule and the law, and notice I say he must get.'

" 'Give it yourself, then,' said the president; 'and you had better make a clean job of it while you are about it, and inform on us all, and go off with the blood-money in your pocket.'

" 'I'm as true and darin' a man as you are;' said the bold Ribbonman, 'but I say he should get warnin'. Maybe he'd be off quick enough if he heard that he was sure to be shot, and then we'd have the land to ourselves without rint, as we had before he came.'

" 'Sorra foot he'll go,' said another: 'I know him well, and ye'll only put him up to what's comin', and maybe not find it so 'asy to come at him afterwards, for he's a terrible sure shot.'

" 'What's the good of them that's paid to do the job,' said the first speaker, 'if they can't bring him down, and they at it day and night? I say he *must* get warning, and I'll have it drawn out myself and sarved on him.'

" 'That's but fair! that's but fair!' shouted the other conspirators.

“ ‘Let it be posted on all the chapels next Sunday, and he’ll be sure to hear of it.’

“ ‘In troth I’ll just do that same,’ said this hero of ‘fair play’; and all severally went their way.

“ ‘In accordance with this specimen of Ribbonite ‘fair play,’ a document was drawn up, and the next Sunday the police found a notice, formally posted on every Roman Catholic chapel in the district, of which the following is an exact copy. I have the original at this moment in my possession :—

“ ‘To Landlords, Agents, Bailiffs, Grippers, process-servers, and usurpers or underminers who wish to step into the evicted tenants’ property, and to all others concerned in Tyranny and Oppression of the poor on the Bath Estate.

“ ‘TAKE NOTICE.

“ ‘That you are hereby (under the pain of a certain punishment which will inevitably occur) prohibited from evicting tenants, executing decrees, serving process, distraining for rent, or going into another’s land, or to assist any tyrant, Landlord, or Agent in his insatiable desire for depopulation. Recollect the fate of Mauleverer, on this his anniversary. Dated May 23, 1851.’

“ ‘From the moment this notice appeared, I was considered by the tenantry in general as a doomed, or, as they termed it, ‘a dead man.’ It had a strange and depressing effect upon the spirits to mark the difference in the bearing and manner of the peasantry, from the moment that this document was issued. It was thoroughly known that such a document as that, posted simultaneously on three different chapels in the district, could only have emanated from the leaders of the Ribbon Conspiracy; none others would have dared to take such a step; and it was equally

well known that chosen men were under heavy pay to carry the threat into execution. This being now well understood by the whole population, I was looked upon as it were a criminal condemned to die, and men, who before had saluted me in a cordial and friendly manner when we met, now passed me in silence, with half-averted faces and pitying looks, and a silent touch of the hat in salutation, as if they scarcely dared to recognise the man who was doomed to be so soon a corpse."

The remarkable "Revival" in Ireland is thus described by Mr. Trench in his "Realities of Irish Life":—

THE REVIVAL.

"THERE have been few more remarkable incidents, and none more characteristic of Ireland, than the religious 'revival,' which took place not many years ago in the north of the island, spreading from thence to the extreme south-west, and finding a somewhat permanent home in the midst of the city of Dublin.

"It is difficult, in a work intended only as a record of facts, to give any account of a 'revival' which can be interesting to the general reader. At the same time, having myself seen much of the operations of the movement, and the circumstances and facts relating thereto having been naturally misrepresented and misunderstood, I conceive that a brief outline of what came under my own immediate notice, and that of others upon whose truthfulness and fidelity of description I could thoroughly rely, may not be uninteresting to those who wish to study Ireland in all her various phases.

"The first wave of the so-called 'revival' arose about the year 1858, in a remote district in the extreme north of Ireland. A number of young men resolved to meet to-

gether for prayer, and they prayed to God very earnestly that He would send a revival of religion amongst them. Not long after this a deep anxiety began immediately to pervade the minds of the people in that quarter about the state of their souls; and many of those who had never before entertained a serious thought upon the subject, became at once alarmed, and really anxious and frightened lest they should be going, as they described it, 'straight to hell.'

"This overwhelming feeling of 'conviction of sin' appears to have pervaded the minds of Protestants only, inclusive of members of the Church of England, as well as of the Presbyterian assemblies: the Roman Catholics, whether because they fancied they were leading better lives, or from an entire separation of feeling on religious matters from the Protestants, were rarely affected by the movement.

"It may readily be supposed that such a strong sense of sinfulness upon the mind, and such an anxious desire for the safety of the soul, was not long in drawing to their assistance men who undertook to lead those who were anxious into a position of safety; and many men were accordingly forthcoming, who, having themselves passed through stages of similar suffering and anxiety, professed to understand all its difficulties, and by their counsel and sympathy became a source of comfort to the afflicted.

"Prayer-meetings, on an extensive 'scale, were soon set on foot and organised in all the surrounding parishes and districts; sometimes in schools, sometimes in barns, sometimes in private houses, and not unfrequently in the open air. The people, men and women, young and old, flocked to these meetings in thousands. The most fervent and energetic prayers were offered up; persons who had never prayed before seemed urged on by some unseen power or influence, and poured forth the most eloquent and fervent

petitions, without any apparent difficulty, or the least hesitation in expressing themselves. The excitement seemed catching and on the increase, and yet all seemed perfectly truthful. It was excitement certainly, such as one may suppose to exist if a theatre or assembly-room was on fire, and it amounted almost to a panic ; but it did not appear to be a fanciful excitement, such as people can sometimes work themselves into without any reasonable cause. The cause in this instance was manifest—the apprehension of going to hell if they died. This danger had previously been unperceived or disbelieved, and now it came upon them in all the vivid colours of a terrible reality. The way to escape was accordingly earnestly sought, as those only seek it before whose eyes a pit of horror is suddenly disclosed into which they believe they are liable at any time to fall. By degrees the excitement increased. The magnitude of the danger became to their minds more apparent and real, and the anxiety to escape more intense. Preachers of various denominations came forward to point out the way of escape, and were listened to with the most marked attention ; whilst with one voice they declared the only way of safety, the only door of escape, the only path of light, to be an implicit trust and reliance upon the blood of Jesus Christ, applied to their souls through faith, as a sufficient atonement for sin, and as able to wash away their guilt.

“ The Roman Catholics looked on at all these proceedings in mute wonder and astonishment. They could not make out what it was all about. They had always considered their Protestant neighbours as prudent, sensible men, and, as a class, generally better educated and quite as moral as themselves, and the puzzle to know what new thing had seized upon their imagination was very sincere and perplexing.

“ By degrees the movement acquired such force and power that even the most careless of the clergy amongst the different denominations—Church of England, Presbyterian, and Methodist—could no longer ignore its existence. Some of the most earnest amongst them, men who had long been endeavouring to awaken their flocks to a sense of their spiritual danger, now that they were thoroughly aroused, placed themselves at the head of the movement, with a view to control and guide it. Others opposed it with all their might, denouncing it as fanaticism and madness. But the movement spread and increased independent of either of these classes, and extending from parish to parish, and from town to town, acquired every day renewed energy and force. The circumstances of the case were so peculiar, and the renown of the movement had attracted so much attention in other places, that numbers of steady, earnest, religious men came from far to witness the strange scenes which were in almost daily course of being enacted.

“ The description given to me by one of these, an elderly, earnest, unromantic man, who went fully determined to see and judge of things as they were, and for himself, may be interesting here to relate. . . .

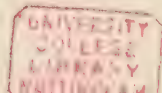
“ When the hymn was concluded, the congregation was requested to be seated ; and then a young man, one of the laymen, stood up, and began very quietly and in a low voice to address the meeting. He did not preface his discourse with any text. His bible was in his hand ; but rejecting the ordinary conventionalities of orthodox preachers, he appealed at once to the consciences and hearts of his audience, and having brought vividly before them the importance of the question he was about to put, he asked them, in plain and simple language—‘ Were they saved ?’

“A dead silence ensued. No one spoke, but the audience, having been wound up, by the prayer and hymn, to a pitch of intense fervour, and being asked so home a question, showed considerable manifestations of uneasiness.

“‘Once more,’ continued the preacher, ‘I ask you, Are you saved? You cannot escape the dilemma. You are at this moment either in a position of perfect safety, or in a position of dreadful danger. If you died now, your souls must either be saved or lost. Which is it? Are you bound for heaven or for hell? Are you now, now at this present moment, believers in Christ, washed in His blood, and safe—or unbelieving sinners, living without God and without hope in the world, and lost?’

“The voice of the preacher was fervid and earnest, and his action and demeanour that of one who firmly believed that a great crisis in the fate of those before him was at hand, and that their everlasting destiny might hang upon the reply which their consciences were able to give to this question.

“He paused, and again there was a dead silence. At last some half-suppressed sobs were audible, and a young man, apparently of a strong frame, fell convulsively into the arms of a companion near him, moaning and sobbing in a state of violent hysteria. The fact of one, well known to many of the congregation as a young man of singular firmness and courage, having been thus ‘stricken’ (as it was termed), became a general signal for others to give way also, and in a few minutes a most extraordinary scene presented itself. Men and women dropped from their seats moaning and sobbing, and completely carried away by their feelings, gave themselves up to the most tumultuous expressions of sorrow and ‘conviction of sin,’ of lamentations for past misdeeds, and the most earnest supplications for mercy.



“It was impossible to view such a scene as this and not to believe that the parties were in earnest and sincere.

“‘Now is the accepted time,’ cried he, in an imploring voice, ‘now is the day of salvation. Do not let Satan make any of you believe that God is unwilling to receive you. No matter how vile you may be, God is acting now in grace. You cannot tell how soon He may come in judgment. You cannot count with certainty upon your own lives for a single hour. There is no difficulty of access to Him now. God beseeches *you* to be reconciled to *Him*. He has given His Son to die for you. He loves you even in the midst of your sins, for He says that “whilst you were yet sinners Christ died for you.” He is ready and willing to receive you, polluted as you now stand, if you will only believe His gospel, and take Him at His word, that “Whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life,”—that “He that believeth on Him hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but *is passed from death unto life.*”’

“Such was the outline of his discourse. Once more he gave out a hymn, and closing the meeting with a short prayer, he dismissed the assembly, and all returned quietly to their homes.

“On the next day another meeting was held, and six ‘cases’ of a similar nature occurred; and the interest seeming rather to increase than diminish, the meetings were continued throughout the whole week. On Wednesday about thirty persons were struck down. On Thursday all parties assembled in a public place of worship, but there was no ‘manifestation’ or visible effect produced. On Friday, on the lawn in front of Major Lancey’s house, an astonishing ‘manifestation’ occurred, and not less than *one hundred persons* were suddenly and by an unseen

power struck down to the ground; and Major Lancey, in an account of the circumstances published by him, and now before me, states that 'the lawn was literally strewed like a battle-field with those that were stricken down in this mysterious manner.'

"On the following day not less than 5000 to 7000 persons attended the meeting, when another marvellous scene occurred, the lawn being covered with those who were 'stricken,' and the same strange 'manifestations' pervading the whole assembly.

" 'During the services on the following Sunday,' Major Lancey continues, 'the wonderful manifestations broke forth in two places of public worship in the town, and afterwards spread over the country with great rapidity. Persons were struck down everywhere; in the cabins, fields, highways, and hedges. *And now the whole country is greatly reformed as to its outward conduct.* Everywhere you may find persons meeting together, singing, praying, reading and rejoicing. *The results appear to be abiding*; men and women who were abandoned characters, others well trained in all the morality of religion, are now alike rejoicing in the knowledge of sins forgiven.' And he concludes the account by mentioning two cases in which 'wild young men who came to mock were themselves suddenly struck down, and brought under the same influence as the rest.' "

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS.

WE must emphasize one fact, that in the great rebellions in Ireland, the most rebellious rebels were the very men whose duty it was to instruct the ignorant masses and to promote peace and goodwill amongst them. These men—the priests of the Roman Catholic Church—were in many cases the instigators and the perpetrators of deeds

which not only were a travesty of religion, but which left a stain on our common humanity. The Church of Rome is to-day what she was in Ireland in 1798 and in 1641. Her principles are unchanged. She is not only a religious body, but she is a *political* body, and as a political body she should be reckoned with. Discretion is always considered the better part of valour, and thus it is that successive governments ignore the fact which is so patent to all observant men. They fear to touch a religious body lest they should give excuse for the fanaticism of a religious war. During the past few years of outrages, encouraged by the speeches of agitators, many of the Catholic priests, in their several districts, have taken the chair at the branch meetings week after week, month after month, year after year, and yet this fact, known to all who are following current events, is passed over without comment. It is, of course, a most difficult phase of the question to deal with, but the fact remains that many priests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland—*there are some noble exceptions*—have proved themselves to be amongst the worst enemies of England, and England should remember that such men are not only religious teachers, but very dangerous political opponents.

All the machinery of incendiary speeches by Catholic priests and agitators, containing gross misrepresentations, innuendos and suggestions, interspersed with the wildest threats, persistently carried on Sunday after Sunday, month after month, year after year, has so permeated the Irish mind, that the very awful atrocities of 1641 would be repeated in 1890 if only the opportunity presented itself.

Archbishop Walsh, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, sent £10 towards the "defence fund" of Mr. John Dillon, whose wild threats and lawless agitations should

have brought upon him by the archbishop a severe condemnation instead of approval. Such an act of the Roman Catholic archbishop works great mischief, for the ignorant and fanatic masses of the Irish people will believe that what the archbishop says *must* be right; and thus encouragement by those in spiritual authority cannot help arousing the same kind of bitterness as that which existed in 1641. The atrocities of 1641 would never have been perpetrated had it not have been for the encouragement given by the Roman Catholic priests.

This letter of one Roman Catholic archbishop was speedily followed by another, for Archbishop Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, also sent £10 towards the "defence fund" of Mr. John Dillon, and then wrote an impassioned appeal to the people to resist the lawful government of the land.

It is on record that the parish priests in Ireland, during the last few years, have hurried through their mass on Sundays, and some say with unseemly haste, in order to rush off to preside at political meetings — meetings opposed to the Government! Sunday is the selected day for these political gatherings, and men whose one care ought to be the true conversion of souls to God, through Jesus Christ, are the very men who are teaching the people the principles of lawlessness, and teaching them not only with the influence which an educated man can exercise over an uneducated man, but with all the influence which the superstitions of the Roman Catholic Church are able to bring to bear upon the masses of the poor and ignorant people.

All Catholic priests who thus engage in political warfare should be recognised by the Government as dangerous politicians. It should be required of them to serve one master: either to resign their spiritual functions,

and be known only as political agitators, or to give up their political agitations, and attend faithfully to the duties to which they profess to have been called, and to which they have been appointed. We are glad to repeat, however, that there are some noble exceptions.

If there are any reasonable reforms which can be effected for the relief of the people of Ireland, then let them be temperately stated, and they will at once be granted; but for well-paid agitators to denounce English authority, and to demand the control of the country is as unreasonable as it is impotent. Such men know that they can never succeed, except in retaining a position whereby they are enabled to live upon money drawn from those, on this and the other side of the Atlantic, whose vicious or ignorant minds lead them to support the principles of anarchy.

If, instead of the wild menaces that are made, plain, business-like proposals and reliable complaints were brought before the House of Commons, they would receive not only a respectful attention but the sympathy of the entire nation. An absence of all that is reasonable in demand, and trustworthy in complaint, is in itself an evidence of the false attitude of these unconstitutional and illegitimate "patriots."

When Father Keller, parish priest of Youghal, was arrested for contempt of Court, Archbishop Croke met him to assure him that he had the approval and sympathy of the archbishop and the priests, and he added that "No Government has ever successfully grappled with the Irish priesthood;" but this archbishop must have read history to little purpose, and the two instances alone which we have given, under Cromwell and William III., show that the Irish priesthood has been successfully grappled with; and now, when Protestantism is much

stronger, it is not likely that we as a nation shall again suffer Catholic intrigues and lawless influences beyond certain bounds. When Father Keller was committed to prison, Archbishop Croke and Archbishop Walsh expressed their sanction of the sympathy with Mr. Keller's disloyal conduct in his refusal to give evidence when required to do so by a Court of Justice, although such evidence would have in no way trespassed on his position as a priest by requiring him to state what had been said to him under the confessional system of his religion. Archbishop Walsh actually accompanied Mr. Keller to the Court, and sat beside him, and then accompanied him to Kilmainham prison—a most unprecedented thing, and one which could only be intended to cause the result which actually followed, of stirring up the lower orders of the people to sympathy with the Catholic Church, thus making it appear that the Government, instead of enforcing Justice, was acting against the Catholic Church.

A band of disguised Moonlighters entered the house of a Protestant named Richard Barnett, a farmer, at Castleisland, Kerry, and forced him on his knees and went through the form of inducting him into the Roman Catholic Church, and on leaving threatened to shoot him if in future he did not go to mass. The Catholics may try to make a religious war out of the present difficulties, and perhaps the sooner it is realised that this is their aim, the more will all branches of political parties unite as Protestants to prevent the further spread of these dangerous principles. Mr. Gladstone is evidently very strongly in favour of the Catholics, as the facts—not opinions—recorded in Lord Robert Montagu's book, "Recent Events," prove—see p. 352—where he used the very arguments which had appeared in the Pope's organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*.

Dr. Wylie states:—

“The fact is that the Roman Catholic bishops and priesthood in Ireland have all along supported this revolutionary movement. In 1881, Mr. Dillon, then M.P. for Tipperary, stated in the House of Commons that ‘fully one-half of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland are enrolled among the Land League. Three-fourths of the Irish bishops have given assurances of their warm approval of the movement, while most of the other prelates had stated that they encouraged it.’ * Upon the extinction of the Land League, the bishops transferred their support to its successor, the National League. The ‘Times,’ of the 11th August, 1884, stated ‘that nearly all the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland had given their adhesion to the National League.’ And the ‘Times,’ of the 9th September, 1884, reported ‘that the organization of crime and outrage in Ireland was proceeding with more rapid strides under the auspices of the National League, *and with the benediction of the spiritual guides of the people.*’ ”

Professor Goldwin Smith, in a letter to the “Times” (April 19th, 1889) headed “A Warning to Ulster,” stated that there is only one analogy on the other side of the Atlantic which might throw some light on the probable consequences of a separate Parliament for Ireland—the relation between the Roman Catholic majority and the Protestant minority under the Provincial Legislature of Quebec.

The Professor asks—“What is the Roman Catholic majority in Quebec now doing? Under the insolent and ridiculous pretext of restoring to the Jesuits the property held by them before the British conquest of Canada,

* *Vide* Mr. Dillon’s speech in the House of Commons, “Times,” January 25th, 1881.

and before the suppression of the Order, it is compelling the Protestant minority to pay out of the public taxes for the endowment of a Society, not merely Roman Catholic but formed for the express purpose of exterminating Protestantism and subverting Protestant Governments. If it does this, what will it not do? And what would the Roman Catholic and anti-British majority not do in Ireland?"

Further on he added—"The fate of the British and Protestant minority in Quebec clearly prefigures that of the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant minority in Ireland. Home Rule in Ireland, as in Quebec, would be the tyranny of a local majority over the local minority, and the legal veto reserved to the Federal or Imperial Government would, in the case of Ireland as in that of Quebec, be practically powerless as a safeguard. People talk of 'the Government' as exercising the veto power; of 'the Government' as controlling local injustice and checking local abuse. They forget that there is no longer a Government, and that nothing is left but faction demagogism and Parliamentary chaos."

The "Times" (September, 1873) stated "That the Papacy educationally regarded is endowed in Ireland; that the British tax-payer is wheedled into lavishing public money for the teaching and propagation of a system which at the best and least is perilous to British interests, and at the worst and highest is destructive of British liberty and independence." Mr. Mitchell Henry, in a letter to the "Times" (May 6th, 1889), concluded thus:—"The Bishops, too, want peasant proprietors, for they have a vision of a Catholic and obedient Ireland, undisturbed by Protestant heretics and their improving ways. If anyone doubts the kind of landed proprietors the Church desires, let him read the angry letter of Arch-

bishop Walsh, dated the 26th inst., in which his Grace protests against what he calls the ‘inopportune and injudicious publication’ of the address to Monsignor Persico from the Catholic landlords and the Catholic laity of Ireland. Virtually the archbishop says, ‘No independence of thought or action, if you please, outside of the Church’s jurisdiction.’”

In a work issued by the Scottish Protestant Alliance, entitled, “*The Papacy of Modern Times*,” is a chapter on the Political Principles of the Papacy, by Lord Robert Montagu, which at page 231 concludes thus:—“In conclusion I will only remind you that the Papacy is using the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and the ignorance of the Irish peasants, as well as the learning and accomplishments of the Ritualists, and bishops and statesmen in England, to spread and enforce those principles, and thus to form a basis of operations against Europe, America, and our colonies. Great Britain is to be crushed under the Pope’s feet, and is then to be used as a fulcrum against the liberties and all that is pure in the religion of Christendom. Enormous issues are involved in the success of the conspirators. The overthrow of the Protestant Crown and Protestant Churches in Great Britain is the destruction of Protestantism throughout the world, and the establishment of the absolute and universal dominion of the Pope. The attainment of that end is in the very grasp of the Papacy. The agitations, which have been fomented in Ireland, have weakened England, at a time when all her energies are required to resist the warlike machinations and enormous intrigues of the Jesuits on the continent of Europe. Moreover, the public offices of this country, and the staffs of all the newspapers are full of Jesuit adherents; and I tell you that both parties in the State—Conservatives and Liberals—have, for many years,

been so led as to bring Great Britain under the dominion of the Pope. Both leaders are hastening to that end, and it rests with the people alone to say whether the conspiracy shall succeed."

Persons who have no knowledge of the aims and working of the Church of Rome, should as a matter of duty read some of the current literature upon the subject.*

In the "Times," December 28th, 1881, attention was directed to a document, which at that time "was being distributed by the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland." This document ran as follows:—

"Land, the Common Property of all.—(From the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty's Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Meath, 1881.)—'The Land of every country is the common property of the people of that country; because its real Owner—the Creator who made it—has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. *Terram autem dedit filiis hominum* (The earth He has given to the children of men). Now, as every individual, in every country, is a creature and a child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the Land of this or any other country that would exclude the humblest man in this or that country from his share of the Common Inheritance, would not only be an injustice and a wrong to that man, but would moreover be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator.'—THOMAS NULTY, Bishop of Meath."

Dr. Wylie states in his work, "Which Sovereign: Queen Victoria, or the Pope?":—

"Though the evils of Ireland are multiform, they flow all of them from one fountain. That fountain is a dominant

* "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome," by Father Chiniquy; "Why should Priests Wed?" by Dr. Fulton; "The Fight with Rome," by Dr. Fulton; "Rome in America," by Dr. Fulton. Other books mentioned in these pages.

Popery and a dominant priesthood. Hence its darkness, its indolence, its pauperism, and its slavery. Hence the demoralisation, derangement, and evil conditions of all things in Ireland, its land, its races, its schools, its government. With priests and Popery dominant in Ireland, things would not be better though *angels* instead of *angles* were commissioned to govern it. This system has ruined every land and every people amid which it has found a seat. This is now the universal experience and the universal confession of all who have directed their attention to the question, and were competent to judge. To this Lord Macaulay has borne emphatic testimony: to this Mr. Gladstone has borne emphatic testimony: to this all modern historians and writers from Robertson and D'Aubigne to Adam Smith and Victor Hugo, have borne emphatic testimony; and the statistics of all nations rivet and clench the statements and deductions of these witnesses. Well, then, why should we persist in believing that this system, found to be evil, and that continually, in other countries, will work differently in Ireland? Why should we persuade ourselves that it will change its nature on this soil, and that what has sunk other lands into perdition will raise Ireland to prosperity and happiness? We do believe this, else why should we foster and feed this system. When will the British nation lay this to heart? When will the truly Christian men of our country lay it to heart, and arousing themselves from their apathy, demand with an energy that will not be mistaken and cannot be misunderstood, that our rulers shall return to the path of rational government; that this most inconsistent, and most ruinous, and most sinful policy—which their own pens have denounced and condemned—a policy not one step of which has prospered, but on the contrary has brought upon us, the farther we have gone,

only new and greater calamities, and which has now landed us in troubles out of which no man at this hour sees his way—that this policy shall be abandoned?

“ But it is asked, How can we root out Popery in Ireland? The first step is to cease supporting it. That surely is in our power, and is our clear duty. We know of nothing to hinder our withdrawing the one million two hundred thousand pounds we give yearly to it, unless the cowardly terror in which we stand of the priest. Why should we not govern Ireland precisely as we govern England and Scotland? Why should we not administer the law in that country as we do on this side the channel, instead of permitting Ireland to be a land where the Queen’s writ does not run, and the Queen’s law does not govern, because, forsooth, to enforce these would be to show a lack of respect for Canon Law? We have police for hunting out, and jails for immuring robbers, pillagers, and evil doers in Great Britain; why should these *eccentricities* and *excesses* be so mildly viewed and so tenderly dealt with, when practised by the ‘lambs’ of the Irish Hierarchy? We hang murderers in Britain; why should not the law of ‘life for life’ be as impartially executed on the other side the channel? Why should we write pamphlets to expose Vaticanism, and endow colleges to teach it? We may not be able in a day, or even in many decades, to fill that land with light; but surely we can cease propagating darkness—darkness which is the mother of all the evils that afflict that unhappy land.

“ Whatever legislation can do, let it by all means do for Ireland. But when legislation has reached the limits of its resources it has only arrived at the beginning of Ireland’s regeneration. It is not more land bills that Ireland needs; it is not a parliament that Ireland needs; it is not more millions to the priesthood that Ireland

needs: it is new men. But how are we to create new men for Ireland? Why, by the same means by which we would attempt the reclamation of the ignorant and uncivilized inhabitants of any other country. These means are simple, and certainly they are not costly, We shall not need to expend one hundred and fifty millions of money upon them. We shall not need even one million. The very simplicity and cheapness of these agencies will, we fear, be a disqualification in the eyes of some. Nevertheless, they are the only agencies that will work a cure. Let every family in Ireland have access—unhampered access—to a *free Bible* and a *free school*.

“ But there is a preliminary. The terror must be put down. The government of Great Britain must again be master in its own house. It is not so at present. It has basely abdicated its functions. It has run to seed. From governing it has betaken itself to declaiming; it truckles, it equivocates, it speechifies, but it does not govern. When you ask it to administer law, it opens the sluices of rhetoric, and drowns you in a flood of declamation that has neither shore nor bottom. Government has notoriously abdicated in Ireland; it has knuckled under to the agitator. There the terror governs, and the old maxim is reversed. Instead of the Ruler being a terror to evil doers, the evil doer has there become the terror of the Ruler. Let Government shake off its fit of cowardice and do its first duty; let it make life and property secure, that the only means by which Ireland can ever be regenerated may be able to put forth its healing and plastic influence.

“ The BIBLE and the SCHOOL, we say, are the twin agencies which alone can dry up the deep fountain whence have flowed seven centuries of woes to Ireland. If these two do not regenerate Ireland, then, indeed, her case is

hopeless. But we know that they will regenerate her, if fairly tried, for the century in which we live has witnessed their power to lift up races even more sunk, and plant the virtues of Christianity where the horrid practices of fetichism had for ages prevailed. In our own life-time savage islands, the abode of cannibals, have been seen, through the agency of the Bible and the School, to blossom with Christian virtue. But let us take care that no priest comes in and puts a clasp upon the Word of God in the form of an anathema, so that the Irish may not dare read it, or that no priest plants at the door of the school a flaming sword in the shape of a curse, that the Irish youth may be frightened to enter."

The London Jesuits have issued a paper in which they say (Lord Robert Montagu's "Recent Events," p. 599):—"The woes of Ireland are all due to one simple cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. The remedy could only be found in the removal of that which caused the evil which still continues. Why were the Irish not content? Because being Irish and Catholic they are governed by a public opinion which is English and Protestant. *Unless Ireland is governed as a Catholic nation*, and full scope given to the development of the Catholic Church in Ireland by appropriating to the Catholic religion the funds given to religion, a recurrence of such events as are now taking place cannot be prevented. *Would that every Protestant house were swept from the land*; then would Ireland recover herself, and outrages would be unknown, for there would be no misbelievers with her champions."

This is the object of the Catholic Church, and this is the object of some of the leading supporters of the Home Rule movement; but many of those in England who support the Home Rule movement do it in utter ignorance of its past consequences and thoughtlessness as to its future

consequences, while some add to this negative action the positive one of doing it simply to please other people whose good opinion they want to secure. Many public men are content with the passing echoes of a popular cheer, while rightness, honour and country may go to the winds so that they may only be popular!

The harrowing and dreadful scenes continuously enacted in Ireland are the result of the encouragement given by public men to lawlessness. Some actually excuse, while others, not so bare-faced, pass by crime with perfect indifference, or indeed with what is worse, a hypocritical disclaimer.

Why do not those who profess to have the interests of Ireland so much at heart, who hold public meetings to denounce and paralyze the law, hold meetings of indignation, and take active measures to suppress the murders, the mutilation and other outrages on men, women, children, and dumb animals? Why? Because they approve it—because it is part of their machinery, and thus those who pretend to be friends of the people and advocates of liberty are friends of criminals and advocates of despotism.

The question of to-day, however, is not what *has been*, but what *is*. England is now willing to forget the inhumanities of the Irish in the past, and to treat them on equal terms—indeed with more indulgence than it treats its own people in London or Edinburgh. The great anxiety of England at this moment is to treat the Irish with such liberality as to give them every possible advantage which a generous people could give; but in the face of cruel and cowardly murders, of maimings of human beings and cattle, of other barbarous outrages, of savage and malignant boycottings, of violent invective and of bouncing threats of assassination, dynamite, and other atrocious enormities, it is impossible to proceed under such acts of

intimidation until the criminal law has been strengthened, so that the terror which now holds the country in an iron band, and makes trial by jury an abortion, shall give place to the ordinary rules of common sense and of common justice.

No wrong-doing by the English in the past can possibly justify the Irish in any wrong-doing to-day. If wrongs of one generation were to be punished by reprisals on a long future generation, what awful retributions would be in store for Ireland!

It is a fearful parody of religion that priests should, by continuous incendiary harangues, incite their peoples to murder, robbery, and other crimes; they are sowing a wind which will produce whirlwinds if the principle of retribution is to obtain. Is it the priests or their religion that is at fault? If the priests, the sooner they are removed the better for their religion and for Ireland; if it is the religion that is at fault, then the sooner Protestantism finds its way throughout Ireland the better for all.

The Government must be firm and punish crime in Ireland as resolutely as it does in England, Scotland, and Wales; if it does not, the precedent will bring trouble on this side St. George's Channel, and perhaps when least expected.

The "Times" Dublin article of November 19th, 1888, reported:—

"The struggle between the law and the League is maintained in Clare with unabated energy on the part of the authorities, and with the same persistent resistance on the part of some of the Catholic priests, who lose no opportunity of inciting the people to continue the fight. On Sunday last, the 11th instant, Father Kenny, parish priest, officiated at Scariff, and, after mass, addressed the people

for an hour from the altar, telling them that he was going to have a collection on the next Sunday to assist Mr. Parnell and the Irish party against the attack of the wicked men who are at present ruling the country. He said they would keep the Commission open on their side as long as the 'Times' did, and that priests and others would be produced as witnesses. They were not going to be ruled by a few resident magistrates and county inspectors, but would stand together, and never lay down their arms until they won the fight. He cautioned the people against Lord Ashbourne's Act, and for an hour continued in the same strain, denouncing the Government and public officials."

Irish Catholics can obtain what they think is "absolution" for crime committed for party political purposes, and thus agrarian outrages are carried to an extent in Ireland unknown in any Protestant country.

The Pope of Rome, after years of outrages in Ireland, gave instructions in 1888 to the Irish bishops and clergy not to support the Plan of Campaign, and to discountenance the atrocities, which gave rise to much discontent amongst the agitators, priests included.

In reference to it, the "Times," in a leading article of November 29th, 1888, said :—

"The Irish problem has assumed a form which does not affect the United Kingdom alone, but all civilized countries and all institutions founded upon order. Little attention has yet been directed in England to the significant fact that the Pope has recently addressed another Brief to the Irish bishops, reiterating and reinforcing his condemnation of the Plan of Campaign and of boycotting contained in the Rescript of last July, and his command to the clergy of all orders to abstain from direct or indirect encouragement of the practices condemned. The official organs of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*

and the *Moniteur de Rome*, have pointedly referred to this new step taken by the Pope to repress 'the proceedings contrary to justice and morality taken by certain agitators,' and 'the immoral principle that the end justifies the means.' It is said that very strict measures are being adopted to enforce obedience to the new Rescript. If the authority of the Papacy is not to be treated as a mere shadow, the bishops and the priesthood in Ireland will not be permitted to yield a perfunctory submission and to publish orders from the head of their Church which are systematically set at nought. We have not yet heard that the Irish Episcopacy have published, much less acted upon, the Papal Brief."

The Canon Law of the Church of Rome has been carefully examined, commented on, and summarized by Dr. G. F. Von Shulte, Professor of Canonical Law at Prague. in his work entitled "Power of the Roman Popes over Princes, Countries, Nations and Individuals,"* and he gives the following Leading Provisoes of Canon Law, which are, however, but a few out of many volumes:—

" I. All human power is from evil, and must therefore be standing under the Pope.

" II. The temporal powers must act unconditionally in accordance with the orders of the spiritual.

" III. The Church is empowered to grant, or to take away any temporal possession.

" IV. The Pope has the right to give countries and nations which are non-Catholic to Catholic regents, who can reduce them to slavery.

" V. The Pope can make slaves of those Christian

* Referred to by Dr. Wylic, in his book, "Which Sovereign—Queen Victoria or the Pope?" published by Messrs. Morgan and Scott, of Paternoster Buildings, London.

subjects whose prince or ruling power is interdicted by the Pope.

“ VI. The laws of the Church, concerning the liberty of the Church and the papal power, are based upon divine inspiration.

“ VII. The Church has the right to practise the unconditional censure of books.

“ VIII. The Pope has the right to annul State laws, treaties, constitutions, &c.; to absolve from obedience thereto, as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the Church, or those of the clergy.

“ IX. The Pope possesses the right of admonishing and, if needs be, of punishing the temporal rulers, emperors, and kings, as well as of drawing before the spiritual forum any case in which a mortal sin concurs.

“ X. Without the consent of the Pope no tax or rate of any kind can be levied upon a clergyman, or upon any church whatsoever.

“ XI. The Pope has the right to absolve from oaths, and obedience to the persons and the laws of the princes whom he excommunicates.

“ XII. The Pope can annul all legal relations of those in ban, especially their marriages.

“ XIII. The Pope can release from every obligation, oath, vow, either before or after being made.

“ XIV. The execution of papal commands for the persecution of heretics causes remission of sins.

“ XV. He who kills one that is excommunicated is no murderer in a legal sense.”

Dr. Wylie records a manifesto of Pope Pius IX., and then gives the effect of it thus:—

“ He claims the right to define his own jurisdiction, both as to its domain and as to its exercise; the right to appoint his bishops—that is, his magistrates—in all

countries, irrespective of the consent of the government of these countries; the right of free communication with the faithful—that is, of sending his bulls, which are to have the force of law, into all kingdoms; the right of employing force in carrying out the discipline of his Church—that is, of imprisoning and burning heretics, and of renewing the sanguinary crusades of the fourteenth century. By justifying all the stretches of atrocious tyranny practised by his predecessors on kings and nations in the past, he claims for himself and his successors the right of acting over again all these atrocities in the future. He claims for his clergy the right of breaking any law and committing any crime without being accountable to the civil tribunals; he claims for his priests, churches, and church lands exemption from taxation; he claims the right of demanding restitution of all lands that ever belonged to Catholics, and enforcing such restitution without compensation; he claims the right of deposing monarchs, and making slaves of their heretical—that is, Protestant—subjects; he claims the right of controlling all colleges and schools; he holds the entire Protestant world sunk in concubinage; he holds all *anathematised* who do not belong to his Church, and calls on the governments under which they live to put them to death, seeing he himself, at this moment, is not in circumstances to do so. In a word, it would be difficult to discover any right, privilege, liberty, or possession, unless it belongs to himself, on which he has not laid the curse. Like one of his predecessors, Pius IX. ‘held all rights in the sanctuary of his own breast.’”

Out of 51 branches of the National League in the one county of Kerry, 32 were managed by parish priests.—*See* “Times,” June 19th, 1889.

MISSTATEMENTS.

As an example of the erroneous statements persistently made by the Gladstonians and Parnellites by public speeches, and articles in their papers whereby all who hear such speeches and read such papers are misled, the following exposure by Mr. Edward Carson in the "Times" of November 13th, 1888, may serve as an illustration of thousands of cases:—

"Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Bingley Hall on Wednesday last, made three very gross misstatements of the law, in his zeal to discredit the Irish administration. 1. He said:—

"'In England if a person is put in prison—if he is convicted of the offence of sedition, a political if not a very grave offence—he is entitled—I believe I am correct in saying—to be relieved from the ordinary indignities and hardships of prison life to which the ordinary criminal is habitually subject, and he enjoys the privileges of what are called first-class misdemeanants. In Ireland there is no such power.'"

"If Mr. Gladstone will look at the Irish Prison Act of 1877, section 49, he will find that in Ireland there is an exactly similar provision to that he has quoted from the English Act; and he will further find that by section 48 of the same Act that in every case of a prisoner convicted of a misdemeanor, the Court or Judge has power to order such prisoner to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

"2. Mr. Gladstone next says:—

"'You have a law of combination in England which is just and equal, and which permits the working people to combine without exposing them to the charge of con-

spiracy; but in Ireland, on the contrary, they may not practise the very expedients of endeavouring to place themselves in collective action under the name of inducing others to exclusive dealing. We know from very high authority, of one of the most eminent of the Judges on the Irish Bench, and one of the most upright—namely, Chief Baron Palles—that such combinations for exclusive dealing and for inducing others to enter into exclusive dealing expose the Irishman where they do not expose the Englishman to a charge of conspiracy, and to the penalties following upon the charge.’

“ Having been counsel in the cases in which the law of conspiracy as affected by the Crimes Act to which Mr. Gladstone can alone refer (as in every other respect the law is the same), I can most positively state that the Chief Baron never laid down any such absurd proposition as Mr. Gladstone averred. On the contrary, the groundwork of all the Chief Baron’s decisions on this point has been that nothing is a conspiracy under the Crimes Act which would not be a conspiracy by the common law of Ireland, which is the same as the common law of England.

“ Indeed, it needed no decision of the Chief Baron to show this, as the words of the 2nd section, subsection 1, are quite explicit, viz.:—‘Any person who shall take part in any criminal conspiracy now punishable by law,’ &c.

“ 3. Mr. Gladstone further said, when speaking of the right of public meeting in England:—

“ ‘Gentlemen, if a parallel case occurs in Ireland when the people desire to resort to the use of that powerful and legitimate instrument—and God knows that in Ireland they have ten-fold and fifty-fold the occasion to employ that instrument (hear, hear)—if in Ireland it is intended

to employ it, the Lord Lieutenant can forbid that meeting, (Shame.) He can forbid it by the use of the most general and vague terms in which he is authorised by the Coercion Act to exercise its powers. There is no power of calling him to account before a court of justice.'

"Will it be believed that in reality there is no section whatever in the so-called Coercion Act giving the Lord Lieutenant any power to forbid a public meeting? Mr. Gladstone was no doubt thinking of his own Crimes Act, which did contain such a provision.

"The right to proclaim or forbid a meeting in Ireland, as in England, is regulated by the common law, and can only be exercised when the meeting is likely to lead to a disturbance of the public peace, or is called for an illegal purpose. If the Executive wrongfully prevent a meeting, it is open to any person molested to test the legality of the conduct of the Executive by an action before a jury, as was done in Mr. Blunt's case. It will be thus seen that in the three points upon which Mr. Gladstone laid such stress the laws in England and in Ireland are identical.

"When Mr. Gladstone attacks Irish laws or Irish administration his remarks should be received *cum grano*."

As an instance out of many of the false charges of oppressive rentals, Mr. T. Healy, M.P., applied to Judge Boyd (*See "Times,"* November 13th, 1888) yesterday for reduction of rent, in the case of a man who had two farms, and who, to avoid paying rent and distress, had removed his cattle from one farm to another, and yet in the most unblushing way application was made to the Court for reduction of rent. The landlord said that his rents had been so reduced time after time, and he had become so impoverished that he could not afford to pay

counsel to represent him. The Judge from the evidence before him, said:—I believe some of these tenants are not free agents, for the person who went to meet the receiver on their behalf was not one of themselves. I refuse the application, and I think it is a monstrous thing to say that a tenant removes his cattle to a farm of his in an adjoining county, and then makes an affidavit to say that he has no profit out of the cattle.

Similar applications were made and refused at the same time, one man submitting an account book purporting to be records from 1882 to 1888, which had all been written at the same time, for the express purpose of the application.

LOYAL OPINION.

ON the subject of loyal opinion in Ireland, Mr. W. Johnson, M.P., wrote to the "Times," November 16th, 1888:—

"There is an 'organized body of loyal opinion in Ireland,' since 1795, in the Orange Institution. It numbers now over 2000 lodges. It has its branches not only in Ulster, but in the west and south of Ireland, and actively flourishes in 'rebel Cork.' Belfast, that had eighty lodges twenty years ago, when I first represented it in Parliament, has now 140; and this 'organized body of loyal opinion' is steadily increasing its numbers, of which in Ulster at least a half are members of those branches of the Christian Church so well represented at the presentation of the address to Lords Salisbury and Hartington.

"I venture to claim for the Orange organization the first determined stand made against Mr. Gladstone's dismemberment measure; and I believe that it was the

attitude assumed by the Orangemen of Ulster that gave confidence and courage to many a Unionist, who knew that more than 100,000 men were banded together in firm resolve to maintain, at all hazards, the legislative union and the integrity of the British Empire."

SYMPATHY WITH OUTRAGE.

IN 1885, a certain section of the Press demanded, and rightly, the protection of young girls. It exposed the iniquitous practices of those who outraged them. Since then, the paper most prominent in such work has advocated with courageous determination, the cases of women in trouble; in one instance, a lady who had separated from her husband, and perhaps rightly, and another, a woman who sympathised with the Scottish crofters, as a protector, but who turned out to be an adventuress, and was prosecuted subsequently as a criminal. In these other cases, the paper referred to was rampant on the score of chivalry demanding that women should have their rights. All well; a splendid work to advocate the rights of women, but experience has proved that *party* stands before rights, and that women may be outraged with impunity as far as these organs care, if a cry against the outrage would be a cry against their political party. The sympathy of a certain section of English Radicals, with the outrages committed in Ireland since 1879, will ever be a foul blot on the English character. Such men have disgraced the name of Englishmen. It is incomprehensible that an Englishman could hear of vile outrages in Ireland, and not only not condemn them, but actually find an excuse for them.

It has been replied to us again and again, "Ah! but see how the poor people have been oppressed," yet, when

asked how the Irish have been oppressed, they have stated with no knowledge of the facts, beyond the distorted reports contained in their own pet party paper, that the people have been oppressed by unjust rents; they were deaf to the explanations that because rents were reduced in Ireland, as in England, Scotland, and Wales, that the reduction did not prove the former higher rents to have been unjust at the time they were agreed upon! No, it suits the *party spirit* to love a grievance, and they carry it even to the length of sympathising with outrage.

But even supposing the rents *had* been unjust, then under such circumstances should we expect to find Englishmen, characterized of all men in the world as chivalrous and fond of fair play, to justify vile outrages on helpless girls, and women, and aged men? It is inconceivable! It shows to what depths of shame men will sink to bolster up a party cause.

Some time since a party of Moonlighters—single men—entered at night the house of a family named Nunan, and two of these ruffians went into the bedroom of one of the girls, named Abina, siezed her violently, forced her on her knees, and held her in that position, while another brute cut off her hair with shears, and then poured a quantity of tar upon her head. Then they entered the bedroom of her sister, and treated her in the same way.

Can any Englishman worth the name read such a report, and not feel his blood tingle with shame, and a desire to punish the villains. And yet history has to record the fact that the indignation of the Radical party, who espouse the cause of women, could not be roused over this incident, because it was committed by a set of miscreants acting under direction of well paid agitators.

Miss McCandy was wounded with gun shots. Two girls

named Murphy were attacked in their own house, their hair cut off, and tar poured on their heads, because they were suspected of speaking to a policeman.

Widows and orphans have been made in numbers during this reign of terror, by the lawless violence of political ruffians.

Men have been shot in cold blood at their own firesides, and left to bleed to death, and the most inhuman atrocities have prevailed year after year since 1879, and yet there has not been, we believe, a single public meeting held in this country to denounce them. Mr. Gladstone and his followers—many of whom, like himself, have a remarkable gift of rhetoric, and could plead in terms to move a nation if they would—have allowed these horrors to pass one after another almost, if not absolutely, unnoticed, and with no appeal and with no manly charge of indignation and reprobation against those of their party who have lent themselves to such inhumanities. History records the fact, and a future generation will blush with shame because it cannot efface the disgrace from the public annals.

NEVER HOME RULE.

IN looking back upon the history of Ireland we find that it presents a long succession of internal turmoil, and when not in quarrel with any external power, its own chief men were in quarrel amongst themselves for supremacy; and so it would be now if Home Rule were granted to them. Ireland needs to be firmly governed, as England is; when the law is broken in England, the offender has to submit to the penalty, and why should the Irish be accorded a license which is rightly denied to us in England? It has been said by would-be Home Rulers that there is as much

crime in England as in Ireland; this is a sample of the false and misleading statements which govern so much of their oratorical displays and venomous articles. The only answer is that there is no crime at all in England such as there is in Ireland. Where can anyone point to any conspiracy in England to prevent tenant farmers paying their rents? And where, to the hideous tyranny of shooting them, burning down their homes, burning their crops, inflicting horrible tortures on their cattle by mutilations which not even cannibals have been guilty of—where, we say, during the past ten years, has there been one single instance of these things in England? There has not; and those who compare the crime in Ireland with the crime in England know full well that they are intentionally endeavouring to deceive. There is no crime in England such as there is in Ireland.

Some persons endeavour to justify crime in Ireland by saying that the people have been oppressed, and when requested to give chapter and verse of the acts of oppression, they are silent, and look foolish, or else refer to some remote period which is altogether out of touch with the practical politics of the day. Past oppressions are recorded in the history of every country in the world, but if every country in the world raked up its past grievances, and adopted a spirit of vengeance towards those of the country which perpetrated the wrong, the whole world would now be plunged into one awful cauldron of universal bloodshed.

One prominent London writer on the Home Rule side actually attempted to justify the Irish rebellion by asserting that the fact of the rents in Ireland, having been lowered by Act of Parliament, was a proof that the former rents were unjust and oppressive, and therefore he inferred that the agitators of Ireland were justified in their atrocities.

When the rents were lowered in Ireland they were lowered in England, too, and many other parts of the world, because of the general agricultural depression, and although they were lowered judicially in Ireland, and not in England, it was because the Irish were so turbulent that they would not pay rent at all, and because they were stirred up to acts of violence by lawless leaders, and it was necessary to have a valuation made of the land, which should bear the stamp of judicial authority, so that when a man said his land was only worth so much, the judicial standard should assess the fair amount in the same way that all property in England is assessed for rates and taxes.

There has been no need for such judicial acts in England. We know and respect our contracts and, as honest men, are prepared to deal honestly with all questions as between landlord and tenant without the assistance of the State.

The value of tenant right in Ireland is in many cases an absolute denial to the false charges of exorbitant rents in Ireland.

Englishmen should clearly contemplate the position of the Irish leagues. Imagine, if possible, a league formed in London whose aim is to override Parliament and every municipal and local authority in the Kingdom, who sends out its fiats that no rents are to be paid, and that if a landlord who cannot pay his mortgagees and his tradesmen, and who is consequently compelled to evict, that any person taking the evicted farm is to be absolutely ostracised, that no one is to deal with him or speak to him, and that when a convenient opportunity arises disguised men are to go to him stealthily as assassins and burn down his house or cattle, or wound him grievously, or shoot him dead. Englishmen, realize it! This awful tyranny has

long obtained in Ireland, and it is actually justified by some Englishmen for party purposes!

It seems incomprehensible that intelligent Englishmen will believe all the blatant clap-trap about oppression and put it against the awful atrocities committed as a justification.

Reflect upon the women made widows, the children made orphans, the desolated homes, the high tension of nervous suffering by the expectation of being murdered any hour of the night, or cruelly wounded. Reflect upon the entire absence of any neighbourly or friendly feeling and the knowledge that one is surrounded by enemies, watching an opportunity to injure you.

Reflect upon a life equivalent to that upon a desert, or else to one set in the midst of savage enemies who have put on the war paint.

Reflect upon the dread of one's unprotected wife and children left to be scorned and jeered at over your dead body, then persistently persecuted so that they cannot earn bread to eat, which has actually been done.

Reflect that these atrocities are perpetrated by law—a lawless law, dictated by the associates of dynamitards and murderers, who live upon funds collected for these avowed objects, and much of it collected in America.

Englishmen! reflect upon these things, and say—is it not time that they were absolutely stopped, whatever it costs? Is it not time that men who go about the country to stir up the angry passions of the poor, ignorant peasants, subjugated by a false and superstitious religion, should be imprisoned; men who for years have been fomenting the worst kinds of evil that can befall any nation, the evil of anarchy, should be imprisoned?

Yes, it is time; the *people* of England feel that it is time; the people of England feel that every one of these

lawless anarchists should be put under lock and key, and that all the false sentimentalism of the wind-bag orators should be exposed in its true colours, and the word they call "freedom" should be called by its right name, "tyranny"; the word they called "patriot" should be called by its right name, "traitor"; and as traitors to their country they should be treated.

Now, what does Ireland want that is not given to it? England has interfered on her behalf to reduce the rents to such an extent that many regard it as a confiscatory action upon the landlords. The rent question, then, is settled; there is no longer any excuse on this head. The former higher rents, however, do not prove that they were oppressive, any more than the former higher rents in England prove that they were oppressive; they were the result of competition for land, and found their level in what people were willing to give; the same as private houses or shops in the streets of our towns.

What, then, is Ireland agitating for now? For Home Rule! and England says that it would be dangerous to both England and Ireland to give the Irish Home Rule.

When we look back upon the whole history of Ireland, and recall her constant feuds, her civil wars, her everlasting desire for broils and battles, we realise the material of her composition, and we realise what we should have to meet, if the Government of herself were placed in her own hands.

The country would be governed by a small faction of men, such as the present Irish Members of the House of Commons, who would stomp the country in their accustomed style, and stir up the populations of the counties to the belief that an absolute separation with England was necessary; and all loyal persons who opposed that view would be subjected by intimidation, by threaten-

ing letters, bearing devices of cross-bones and coffins, by boycotting, by mutilation of their cattle, by burning of their houses, by woundings, and by cold-blooded murders, as have been done in recent years to propagate rebellion against the Government. Thus the violent faction, supported by funds from America, and by the passing of Acts confiscatory of the possessions of the well-to-do who were opposed to them, would aim at and attain supremacy of power, and the result would be *entire separation from England*.

This accomplished, all the loyalists of Ireland would be stripped of their goods, and the internal revolutions of France would find their repetition in Ireland, and the respectable class would have to flee, and find refuge in another country.

Some international question would soon arise, the Irish would act upon the power of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church, and would seek the alliance of some other Roman Catholic country, which project would receive the blessing and assistance of "His Holiness" the Pope, and Ireland would get France, as she has done on various occasions before in her history, to join her in an attack upon England.

Is this picture overdrawn? Let Englishmen fairly consider the character of the Irish, their past history, and their present aims. No! this picture is not overdrawn: it might be painted in much more vivid colours, for much worse than is here slightly suggested would be the inevitable consequence if England gave Home Rule to Ireland.

No! Englishmen, have more regard for their honour. Englishmen have more regard for Ireland herself, than to pass any Act which would make it possible for her to be governed by such a faction as that which of late years has

disgraced civilization in the eyes of the whole world. To allow any step the "ultimate goal" of which would make Ireland an independent nation, is impossible for England to consent to.

The people of England will never consent to give Home Rule to Ireland. England will never commit such an act of suicide. Ireland will still be governed by the same just laws as govern England, Scotland and Wales. If any law is unjust in any way, it will be remedied. It must be pointed out intelligently and justly, and England will be more than just to Ireland, she will be generous; she has been more than just of late years, she has given Irishmen advantages which have not been extended to Englishmen.

We do not grudge it—we are all prepared to do anything in reason to encourage a right and brotherly feeling between the two countries. If any act of oppression in Ireland can be proved it will meet with immediate adjustment, but while Englishmen will not suffer oppression which is legal they will not suffer oppression which is illegal. The tyranny of the lawless leagues must and shall be rooted out. Englishmen will demand that their Government shall treat Ireland as fairly as it treats England, that the loyal subjects in Ireland shall have the same protection for life and property that Englishmen have, and that violent and wicked men, Members of Parliament, and others shall be placed in safe keeping. Englishmen demand this of their Government. Englishmen have felt that session after session has been wasted by Irish violence and obstructiveness. English social life and trade have suffered through it, and now they demand that after patiently bearing the insolence of Irish Members for years in their Commons House of Parliament the obstruction shall cease, and they call upon the Government to use with a strong hand all the powers with which it has been

entrusted by the country to preserve the honour and authority of law.

Michael Davitt, in a letter dated November 2nd, 1888 (*See the "Times,"* November 12th, 1888), said—

“What is demanded for Ireland is also advocated for the crofters of Scotland and the farmers of Wales; and the prevalence of advanced ideas of land reform in England, Scotland, and Wales to-day is largely, if not mainly, due to the Radical land reformers of Ireland. I am of opinion that a similar attitude to the Home Rule question will serve Ireland better in the end than one which excludes England, Scotland, and Wales from present or contingent consideration in the matter of national self-government. If Scotland really desires Home Rule, if its national sentiment is evoked in favour of a National Assembly in Edinburgh, the very manifestation of such a feeling among the Scottish people will make Home Rule for Ireland an assurance doubly sure.”

The aim of agitators is to dismember the British Empire, but Englishmen will never permit it. No! such a disaster could only arise out of the ashes of England, and England is strong enough yet to keep the Empire together.

The Marquis of Salisbury said—

“Do not yield to that silliest of delusions that, if Home Rule were granted at the instance of the Parnellite party, the Parnellite party would be thrust aside by a sudden appearance of a set of refined, of scrupulous, and honourable statesmen who would guarantee the population of Ireland from all those evils which have been so eloquently described in the speeches which have gone before mine, and which have evidently been aroused from the contemplation of the special modes of action of those who rule the Parnellite party. And, least of all, do not yield to

the suggestion that this is merely restoring the government that existed in Ireland a hundred years ago. Grattan's Parliament was no very great success. It only lasted eighteen years, and there was one rebellion at the beginning of it, and another at the end of it; and that, for the purpose of insuring quiet in a civilized State, cannot be said to be a conspicuous success. But Grattan's Parliament possessed only legislative powers. The executive power, which under any Home Rule system would certainly be handed over to the Parnellite party, has never been since the days of Strongbow in any other hands but those who represent the United Kingdom. The transfer of executive power! Have you thought what it means? It means Parnellite statesmen, Parnellite judges, Parnellite magistrates, Parnellite constables. How happy would you be, how happy would my reverend friends on my right be, and that numerous and very enlightened body whom they represent, under the auspices of the government which I have attempted to depict. Of all delusions against which I have warned you resist above all this last, that when Home Rule is once granted there is anything that can be hoped for from the checks which may have been put into the Act of Parliament, and which it is trusted that the vigour and the resolution of England will yield. If England once gives way, if she once surrenders at this stage and upon this point, she will have announced to the world that there is nothing to be feared from her resistance; and the statesmen under whose influence she will have achieved that surrender have, by their own constant changes of policy, by the promises they have made and systematically broken, by the policies they have preached and systematically stultified, informed you beforehand, as clearly as if they had given you legal notice of it, that when Ireland demands separation at their hands she

shall have it. This is the future which is open to that loyal, educated, intelligent, and extensive minority in Ireland, whose voice to some extent we have heard to-night. Is it possible that such a catastrophe should occur, that such a gross betrayal of duty should be committed? What agency is powerful enough to lure England from her duty, to make her forget her ancestral faith?"

The Nonconformists or non-Episcopalians of Ireland have declared against Home Rule for Ireland, and it is significant that such prominent Nonconformists of England as Rev. Charles Spurgeon, Dr. Allen, Dr. Dale, Dr. Stoughton, Dr. White, Dr. Bruce, Rev. W. Arthur, etc., etc., are against Home Rule.

At a meeting in London, in November, 1888, the Rev. Moderator of the Presbyterian Church said:—

"Mr. Gladstone and his supporters seemed to them to be demoralising the principles of the community by the doctrines they were teaching. Boycotting was exclusive dealing. The Plan of Campaign was the weapon of the weak against the strong. The maiming and wounding of dumb brutes in the most atrocious manner was the injudicious method of protesting against a policy which was not approved. For policemen in Mitchelstown to shoot anyone was monstrous, but for policemen in Belfast to shoot many more was not worthy the slightest notice save in way of approval. Where was this to end? Was opposition to Mr. Gladstone's policy immoral, and were the most ordinary laws of morality to be ignored in those whom he took under his wing? If Home Rule came, then they must bid farewell to the system of united secular and separate religious instruction to which they had been always true. They would then have the Romish Church endowed, not directly, but indirectly, through its educational institutions, which would be virtually teachers of

the Romish religion. They would have the prosperity of the North taxed to support the poverty of the South. Trade and commerce and capital would be driven from the island, and, worse than all, the alienation and strife of centuries would be reawakened with what results God alone could tell. Mr. Gladstone would fain see them return to what he, with very limited knowledge of the subject, called the principles of their fathers. He most respectfully told Mr. Gladstone that he was doing his best, by the persistent pursuit of his present policy, to goad a peaceful and industrious population into rebellion were there the slightest probability that his policy would be successful."

Out of 990 Nonconformist ministers in Ireland 864 had signed against Home Rule, and those who had not signed did not decline except on the ground of objecting, as ministers of religion, to take part in politics, with the exception of a very few of them.

The *Précurseur* of Antwerp, the most important commercial journal, and at the same time one of the most influential organs of Liberal opinion in Belgium, remarks on the subject of the Home Rule agitation, as reported in the "Times," of December 10th, 1888:—

"For the British Empire a critical time is approaching. If the unity of the United Kingdom be preserved from the dangers prepared for it by a sentimental rather than patriotic policy, by which the revolutionary element in Ireland profits, modern England will be still more powerful than the England of Burleigh, Pitt, Canning, Peel, and Palmerston. But if the narrow passions of Mr. Parnell, seconded by the generous but imprudent aspirations of Mr. Gladstone, are to prevail, there will be an evil ending to the fortunes of the greatest people that the world has ever known—of the people which hitherto

has led the way in promoting liberty, justice, commerce, and civilization."

The Earl of Derby, speaking at Ashton-under-Lyne, in 1889, said in the course of a long and powerful speech: "What reason have we to suppose that Irishmen elected to serve at Dublin will show higher or better qualities than those elected to serve at Westminster? Here they are restrained to a certain extent by English opinion—alien opinion they would call it—at home they will create opinion. Is the opinion they will create likely to be of a healthy or civilized kind? My conviction is—and I speak of it not as a thing probable, but as a thing certain—that if, unhappily, the English people determined on giving Ireland a Legislature of its own, there would be no rest, no halting place, until the Parliament of Dublin was invested with all the powers of the Parliament of Westminster. (Hear, hear.) No doubt that would not mean formal separation; the Queen would still be Sovereign in Ireland; but practically it would be separation, for under Parliamentary government the Crown can only act on Ministerial advice, and the Minister can only advise the policy which is advocated or supported by Parliament. Statesmen are trustees for the nation they serve, and they have no more right to compromise the national interests, or what they consider such, in order to gratify their own feelings than they would have to give away in charity an estate which they held in trust. (Hear, hear.) Any way, the fact is as I state. Instances are innumerable, but one is enough. Look at the present relations between France and Italy. They are hardly amicable, certainly not cordial. Everybody knows that but for the armed intervention of France thirty years ago Italy would not have been made; yet at this moment, if a European war broke out, it is more likely than not that Italy would range herself on the side opposed

to that taken by France. How would it be with Ireland? That a semi-independent Ireland would waive all further claims in deference and in compliment to us is a wild expectation. The more probable result would be that an Irish Executive would watch for the first opportunity, when we were in serious trouble, and then ask for complete freedom. (Hear, hear.) In fact, that is exactly what they did more than a hundred years ago. Ireland had then a Parliament with limited powers. Ireland wanted those powers extended, and the opportunity was seized, when English strength and military resources were well nigh exhausted by the American war, to enforce her claim by creating an army of Irish volunteers to which nothing at that moment could have been opposed. Many people look to the American precedent, and ask why Ireland should not be placed as regards us in the position of a State in the American Union. That is a plausible suggestion, but it will not bear looking into. The fact is that federal union between two countries of very unequal importance is a practical impossibility. (Cheers.) Federation is possible—it is even easy—between several States of which no one is powerful when compared to the whole. No one in New York, or Virginia, or California can reasonably feel aggrieved because wishes prevailing in his own State are overruled by a majority among the sixty millions of people and the thirty-eight States which form the American Union. (Hear, hear.) But where you have only two communities to deal with the case is different. There is no third party to mediate. Supposing them to pull different ways, either one must give way to the other or they must split. A split is, of course, impossible in the Irish case. (Cheers.) It is equally out of the question that thirty-three or thirty-four millions of people should follow the lead of less than five millions. The only possible meaning, therefore, that

federation can have for the Irish is dependence. They are, under the present system, our equals in all respects; they would become our subordinates. They are actually citizens of a great State, with the fullest rights that other citizens possess; they are asked, or they ask for themselves, to become citizens of a small State, depending in all external matters on one more powerful. It will not be easy for them or for their friends to show that the change is for their own advantage. Now, there are one or two fallacies which are constantly reappearing in this controversy, and which one ought not to pass by. The staple of Home Rule speeches is this—‘What right have you to govern Ireland against the wish of the Irish people?’ Well, if you take your stand on a principle you must not shrink from the conclusion to which it leads you. The principle laid down means one of two things. Either it means that any and every fraction of a country has a right to claim self-government and virtual independence, which is a proposition too absurd to be seriously discussed, or it implies that Ireland has some special claim to be treated as a separate nationality, which does not belong to any other part of the British Isles. Now let us see what Irish nationality from the historical point of view comes to. We know pretty well what Ireland was before the English conquest. It was at no time a country subject to one Government, or organized in any civilized fashion. It was an island inhabited by a multitude of half-savage tribes, incessantly at war with one another, and never for more than a few years under even nominal control of a single head. (Hear, hear.) It is literally historically true that Ireland has never been, in any recognised sense of the word, a nation, except as an English dependency. You hear a great deal about Grattan’s Parliament—the Irish Parliament that existed from 1782 to 1801, and of which

I spoke just now. Well, that Parliament is a curious one for Celtic patriots to appeal to. It was a Parliament composed entirely of Protestants; no Catholics sat in it. It passed, I believe, 54 distinct Acts of the kind now called Coercion Acts. It began in one revolution—for the Volunteer movement of '82 was really a revolution, though no blood was shed—and it ended after the putting down of an insurrection which cost thousands of lives, and which has left bitter memories to this day. Anarchy is not democracy; with a franchise such as it is now, no man can seriously contend that the views of the Parliament are not the views of the people. In no country in the world would as much toleration have been shown to men who openly announce their intention of defying the law as has been shown in Ireland."

The Earl of Derby, at a great public meeting held in Birmingham on April 24th, 1889, said, in the course of a long speech (See "Times," April 25th):—"What is it that we object to when we declare our opposition to Home Rule? In the first place, we deny the fundamental principles on which the demand for Home Rule rests. We do not deny that Ireland may have grievances, but we deny that Ireland has any grievances due to or connected with the Union. (Hear, hear.) We say that Ireland enjoys every right, every privilege that belongs to any other part of the British Islands. (Cheers.) Is she under-represented? On the contrary, as we all know, a re-arrangement of seats on the basis of population would give Ireland at least ten or twelve fewer seats than she has at present. Are Irish affairs neglected? Why, one of the most practical arguments that is used in favour of Home Rule is that Irish affairs occupy the time of Parliament so exclusively that England and Scotland cannot get their business attended to. Are Irish members, when they will con-

descend to observe the ordinary decencies of debate, refused a hearing or listened to with impatience? Why, it is notorious that, being scarcely more than one-seventh of the House of Commons, they claim a share of time and attention entirely disproportionate to their numbers, and which would not be granted to Englishmen or Scotchmen similarly situated. Have their grievances in the recent past been ignored, or has redress been refused? Take the two which always figured most prominently in their speeches—the question of the Church and the question of the Land. To satisfy them, and as an act of justice, the Protestant Church was disestablished and disendowed; and they enjoy what, at any rate, most Liberal politicians think, a most desirable state of things, and which England, Scotland, and Wales have not—entire mutual independence of Church and State. Take the land. There, again, Parliament has gone out of its way, and I may say has put a strain upon its own convictions in order to give the Irish the benefit of a land system which, whether in itself desirable or not, is at any rate that which they never ceased to cry out over. And when that, too, failed to satisfy the parties for whose benefit it was intended, we are even, indeed, lending English capital and largely employing English credit to make the Irish peasant the owner of his own farm, a thing which we have not done, and are not doing for any other part of the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) Now, I ask, are these proofs of indifference to Irish complaints? Then, as to local government, it is perfectly true that local institutions of Ireland, as they now exist, give far more power to the Executive, and less to elected authorities than was the case here even before the Act of last year. But how has that state of things come about? Why, notoriously the reason of it is not the desire of the Lord Lieutenant, or the Secretary, or

the Dublin officials to exercise those local functions; but the annoyance, and bitterness, and local party feeling, and the fact that the Irish people are in two camps—neither party willing to trust the other. Nobody desires, in truth, to withhold from Irish counties or boroughs the control of strictly local affairs; but we are bound in justice to see that whatever powers we give are not such as can be deliberately and systematically used, as in many cases, I believe, there is all the will to use them, for the ruin of an unpopular minority. (Cheers.) That is the real difficulty. It is a difficulty for which we are not responsible; it arises out of the very condition of Irish parties. I repeat this—that whatever may have been the case one hundred or even fifty years ago, there has been, and is in the present generation, the most sincere and earnest desire to remedy every intelligible Irish grievance. (Cheers.) It is, perhaps, partly the fault of our own action in past years that what we now do is often misunderstood. What we have conceded as a measure of justice and policy, the Irish people believe to have been yielded through fear; and they argue that if Parliament has been driven so far on the road to concession, there is no reason why it should stop there. That is their view, and there are plenty of good, simple people here who honestly say, “If the Irish want only a local legislature, which shall always be subject to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, why should they not have it? What harm can it do?” My answer is, that to give the Irish a legislature of their own, on condition that they used their power so as not to interfere with the rights of the Imperial authority, is like giving a child a drum and telling him not to make a noise. (Laughter.) Remember the language of Mr. Parnell. I believe there is no dispute about its authenticity, and he is a man who means what he says. Here are the words used by him at Cincinatti in February,

1880:—"None of us, whether we are in America or in Ireland, will be satisfied till we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." And, again, more recently, at Mayo, in November, 1885, his own journal reports the following words as uttered by him:—"Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people, and all my colleagues in Parliament, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or impliedly, anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, to make our land a nation, to secure for us, free from outside control, the right to our own course among the people of the world." That does not look very much like submission to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament. (Cheers.) That was said only four years ago, and though I certainly should not quote a speech of Mr. Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt of four years ago as evidence of their views on Irish policy—(laughter)—it is quite otherwise with Mr. Parnell. He knows what he wants. His methods may vary according to the opportunities and necessities of the times; but though his methods may vary, I believe his purpose to be unchanged. (Hear, hear.) And, remembering these utterances, and supposing an Irish Parliament meeting in College Green, with all the constitutional restraints which English simplicity is asked to believe in as safeguards—(laughter)—how long will these safeguards last? Some of them will be evaded in the most direct and simple fashion. It is useless to say to the Irish people, "You shall not set up an army of your own," when there will be nothing to prevent their creating an army of police, or encouraging the formation of Volunteer corps as they did a hundred years ago. It is idle to forbid them to endow no religion when they have control of all schools, and when they might, if they pleased, appoint their parish priest

inspector of the village school, and pay him a salary in that capacity. It is possible, no doubt, to say that they shall not tax any article imported from England; but that restriction is easily evaded if they have control over their own finance, and if they can give a bounty to any home industry that competes with imported articles. (Hear, hear.) Besides, who is to determine whether the new Constitutional charter is violated or not? In the United States the matter is simple. They have a written Constitution and a Supreme Court, which is its recognised and authoritative interpreter. We have neither; and if England and Ireland having made what is, in effect, a treaty, found themselves unable to agree as to what that treaty meant, or how it was to be interpreted, I know of no means of deciding the question except by force. But there is something more than that. The last decision of the Home Rule party is, that, come what may, the Irish members are not to be banished from Westminster. They are still to sit with ours. There are Constitutional and administrative difficulties involved in that position which I have often adverted to, and which I have never seen even an attempt to solve. I will not refer to them again. But if we are to have still in our Parliament a powerful Irish party acting together as they act now, can you doubt that their constant endeavour would be to extend the powers of the new Irish legislature, and every limitation of those powers, however it might have been stipulated beforehand, would be exclaimed against as an act of tyranny and oppression? (Hear, hear.) Why, we should be told, and it would be quite true, "You conceded our Parliament in deference to our claim of nationality; do you imagine that the mere creation of a big vestry to deal with parochial affairs is enough to satisfy a national sentiment such as ours?" We all know what the answer

must be. We feel that if we were ourselves Irish Nationalists we should not be content with so mere a shadow of power, and it is idle to expect anybody will be content. I do not go so far as some people to say there is absolutely no alternative between Union and Separation, but I do contend that if we are not to maintain the existing Union, Ireland must not be a sham, but a real nationality. (Hear, hear.) It must have its own army, its own navy, its own diplomacy, its own tariff, possibly its own favoured and dominant Church—are we prepared to grant that or not? If we are, let us say so at once, and end a bitter and vexatious conflict; but if we are not so prepared, and I believe very few people are, it is surely better to stand on the firm ground which we now occupy, than to plunge into a system of concessions, one of which will inevitably involve another, and to be perpetually dragging on, saying at every new surrender, “This must positively be the last.” (Hear, hear.) That is a policy to my mind without dignity, without grace, and without sense. (Hear, hear.) We are often taunted by our opponents with supporting what is called only a paper union, while they are for a union of hearts. The paper union is, at least, a substantial fact, and the union of hearts is, at least, problematical. (Laughter.) How long would gratitude for the gift of Home Rule last? The gratitude for such concessions is not, I am afraid in politics, an appreciable force. The whole history of nations is a record of wars against recent allies, and alliances with recent enemies, and in the course of international life it must be so. What would the Irish have to be grateful for if Home Rule came? Would it come as the free gift of English generosity? No, it would have been notoriously extorted by the exigencies of English party politics, from the annoyance to England of eighty members of Parliament to vote equally against every

Government, and by the supposed danger to ourselves of a discontented Ireland. Depend upon it Irish statesmen would never yield to us a single point of advantage in the future in return for what we had done in the past. It would not be reasonable to expect it, and I do not know if it would be even just to ask it. Remember, too, something else—that there are in Ireland hearts to be lost as well as hearts to be won. There is no bitterness like that of an alienated friend—alienated because he thinks he has been betrayed, and, apart from all questions of honour, you would make a bad bargain if you purchased the temporary thanks of Munster and Connaught at the cost of the permanent resentment of Ulster. (Hear, hear.) If by any mischance we were to lose—if a majority of electors declared in favour of Home Rule in some form—even then the fight would only have begun, for it is one thing to accept Home Rule as an abstract principle, and quite another thing to work it out in detail. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, in any case we must keep together, prepared if need be for a long struggle, minimizing such differences as may exist among ourselves, not making too much of small victories and not disheartened by small defeats, but trusting in the good sense of the English people, and secure at least of two things—the depth and sincerity of our convictions and the impartial verdict of history.” (Loud cheers.)

The Earl of Selborne, at a great public meeting held in Birmingham on April 25th, 1889, said in the course of a long speech (see “Times,” April 26th):—“I always thought that it was a maxim of common sense and universal experience that strength lies in union. (Hear.) I always thought it was a maxim of old-world wisdom that if you want to get a mastery over any nation, any Government, anything in the world, your business is to do it well. Those seem

to be principles which go at once to the root of this resolution and our whole experience with regard to Ireland. If we set aside the agitation which has taken place and look to the lessons of history, they are to the same effect. Until we had the Union with Ireland the whole was a miserable history of continued disturbance between the one country and the other—England goaded into doing what ought not to have been done with respect to Ireland, and Ireland totally incapable of doing anything for herself. But from the time of the Union, or at least from the time when the necessary complementary measures of the Union were carried in 1828—from that time I venture to say that no country in the world can exceed the care and the desire which have been shown by the Imperial Parliament to govern as well as it could in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) I cannot help mentioning in illustration of that a thing which happened to myself. I ventured to say something a month or two ago at Oxford in a speech which was reported and read by some persons in Ireland. I said—‘I challenge anybody to show that we had done anything to misgovern Ireland for the last sixty years, or that we had omitted anything which could reasonably have been suggested, even by way of experiment, for improving the condition of Ireland. We had carried great measures; we had made great sacrifices, and with regard to the land question we had done for Ireland what had not been done for any country in Europe.’ . . . If any of your laws are bad laws, make them better by all means, or repeal them—and that is what it is the business of Parliament continually to do—but while they are laws, and until you have been persuaded that they are bad laws and ought to be repealed, they must be enforced by the authority of the State. (Cheers.) . . . If I rightly understand the principle upon which these separatist measures are represented it is

this, and this alone—that the great majority of the representatives of Ireland, eighty-five or thereabouts in number, wish for it. They say, ‘It is no use to talk about doing us good in your own way, we want to do it in our own way.’ If we are to go back again to Mr. Gladstone’s former measure, you do not propose to give them that power for a great many things. For instance, Mr. Gladstone would not give them power to legislate about trade in Ireland. These are very strange restrictions, but I am not going to dwell upon them. All I can say is that if you make the measure conditional, subject to restrictions and exceptions, depend upon it their whole business will be to get rid of those restrictions and those exceptions. (Cheers.) I must say from their point of view this is reasonable enough. I do not say as to all the restrictions, such as relate to peace and war treaties, and so on—that is a different thing—but when you say they are to have an Irish Parliament, but they may not legislate about religion, although the religious circumstances of Ireland have always been thought to be among the most important determining principles upon which it was to be governed, and that they may not legislate about trade; that though they may tax themselves for other things they may put on no customs duties, which means in plain English that if they wish for protection they shall not have it, though you allow your colonies all over the world to have protection, if they like it, and to put taxes upon British products—I say if you give them those conditional powers their whole business would be to get rid of those restrictions as quickly as they could, and their whole powers in the British Parliament, if they were there, would be exercised for that purpose, and if, on the other hand, you swept away those conditions, which is the true result of your principle, supposing they should wish for it, where

should we be if it should happen again that the Irish Parliament and Government, looking to foreign connections and foreign sympathies in a moment of danger or weakness for England, should use those foreign connections and those sympathies if possible for our destruction? Why, it is quite plain either we should be destroyed or our greatness overthrown, or we should have to conquer them again and undo all the work. (Cheers.) These are very important considerations, because of the principles upon which the thing is to be done. It is not to be done because you think it expedient; it is not to be done because you think it right; it is not to be done because you think it necessary; it is not to be done on any other ground than this—that they want it. But then, if they want this, they may want something else to-morrow, and the same principle would produce always the same consequence. If eighty-five Irish members in England are to overbear our reason, whether we think the thing wise or right and safe for the country or not, still more when you have set up a Parliament in Dublin, and armed them with the whole executive power in Ireland, given them under whatever conditions and restrictions you like, they will have infinitely stronger moral grounds and infinitely stronger material grounds to insist upon your giving them upon the same principle whatever else they may want.” (Cheers.)

The Earl of Selborne proposed the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—“That this meeting is firmly opposed to any scheme for the government of Ireland which would set up a separate Parliament in that country and would repeal the Union of the three kingdoms. It therefore recognizes the wise and patriotic course adopted by those members of the Liberal party in Parliament who in 1886 refused to support Mr. Gladstone’s

Bill, and through whose action measures dangerous to the unity and stability of the realm and burdensome to the British taxpayer were defeated."

"The Speaker's Handbook* on the Irish Question" states:—

"(1) At the general election of 1886 exactly half the Irish electorate voted for Home Rule, but no more. The other half voted against it or abstained.

"(2) The names of all the principal commercial men in Ireland are conspicuous by their absence from every list of Home Rulers that has ever seen the light.

"(3) The city of Belfast has its electorate almost entirely composed of such working men (like those of England and Scotland), and its vote at the last election was as follows:—For Home Rule, 6,460; against, 17,861; majority against, 11,401.

"(4) The vast majority of the educated classes are against Home Rule, while Mr. Parnell is supported by thousands of voters who can neither read nor write. To such an extent is this the case that out of every six electors in Ireland one is unable to mark his cross on a balloting paper. At the last general election, out of 194,994 Irish voters 36,722 were illiterate. In England and Wales, on the contrary, out of 2,416,272 voters there were only 38,587 illiterates, or only one voter in 62.

"(5) There are 1,173,600 Protestants in Ireland, but there are not 5000 Protestant Home Rulers, including women, infants, and lunatics.

"(6) The Church of Ireland (Protestant Episcopal) numbers 639,500 members, and its General Synod has unanimously declared against Home Rule.

"(7) The Presbyterian Church in Ireland, numbering

* Published by the Liberal Unionist Association, 31, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 1s. post free.

470,700, has with equal unanimity declared against Home Rule.

“(S) The governing body of the Methodist, Baptist, and non-subscribing Presbyterians have also with practical unanimity protested against Home Rule.

“(9) The members of the Chambers of Commerce in both Belfast and Dublin have also protested, as have the members of the Board and Senate of the University of Dublin.”

“1. It cannot be denied that all Home Rulers base the right of Ireland to ask for Home Rule on the ground that Ireland is a nation. ‘IRELAND A NATION’ is the toast at every Irish Nationalist banquet, whether in Ireland or America.

“But what are the rights of a nation?

“If Ireland be a nation she is certainly entitled to the rights of a nation. She is entitled to the rights of France, or Germany, or the United States. These rights obviously include the following:—

“(A) The right to choose her own form of government, and to say whether it shall be monarchical or republican.

“(B) The right to separate from Great Britain altogether, if she chooses, either now or at any time.

“(C) The right to her own army and navy and foreign policy.

“(D) The right to have colonies of her own, if she can get them; and

“(E) The right to absolutely control her own trade and taxation.

“These are certainly the rights of nations; but the curious thing is that there is not a single Gladstonian Home Ruler to be found who pretends for an instant that Ireland is entitled to a single one of the national rights we have specified. Not a single one of them believes in

the national rights of Ireland. There are, indeed, some men who do. The extreme American Fenian section do believe in these national rights of Ireland—a fact which shows that, so far as this branch of the subject is concerned, they, and they alone, are the logical Home Rulers.”

“HOME RULE IMPRACTICABLE.

“One scheme of Home Rule—and *only one*—has yet been brought under the notice of the British Parliament and people by any politician. On April 8th, 1886, Mr. Gladstone introduced the famous Home Rule Bill of that year, which was rejected two months later, June 9th, by a majority of thirty.”

“EXCLUSION OF THE IRISH MEMBERS.

“The exclusion of the Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament was a cardinal feature of the Home Rule Bill of 1886. (*See Section 24 of that proposed measure.*)

“From the several manifest absurdities connected with such a proposal, the following are the most obvious:—

“1. If Irish Members be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster, it follows that either the foreign policy of Great Britain and Ireland must be dictated entirely by English and Scotch voters, or that Ireland should be allowed to have a foreign policy of her own. The second of these alternatives is impossible; the first means the disenfranchisement of the inhabitants of Ireland on all questions of foreign policy.

“2. If Irish Members be excluded, it is equally evident that either Ireland will be deprived of all voice in the control of an army and navy for which she will have to pay, or that she must be allowed to have an army and navy of her own. The second alternative is by universal consent impossible, the first is grossly unjust.

“ 3. If Irish Members be excluded, Ireland must be forever without vote or voice in all questions arising out of the relations between the Mother Country and her colonies. These must be left entirely to England and Scotland.

“ 4. If Irish Members be excluded, Ireland must be forever shut out from vote or voice in the management of Imperial trade, or Ireland must be permitted to pursue her own trade policy. The second alternative is, again, by universal consent impossible, the first grossly unjust.

“ 5. If Irish Members be excluded, it would follow that Ireland would be left no voice even in purely Irish Trade. Parnellites have frequently reminded English audiences that separation between Ireland and England is impossible, because nineteen-twentieths of Irish trade at least is a cross-trade with Great Britain. Therefore, under the Bill of 1886, it was found necessary to retain the management of all trade in a Parliament from which Irish opinion was rigidly excluded.

“ 6. If Irish Members be excluded, Ireland must either be free from all contribution to the Imperial revenue, or she must be taxed by a Parliament in which she has no representation. The former of these alternatives is obviously unjust, and so impossible that no one has dared to suggest it; the second is the policy of Lord North, whereby we lost our North American colonies one hundred and twenty years ago. The policies on this point of George III.'s Ministers in 1776 and of Mr. Gladstone in 1886 were identical.”

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., in one of his numerous vigorous speeches, said on January 23rd, 1889, in the Town Hall of Birmingham :—“There is a school of modern philosophy, of which the literary representative is Mr. John Morley, which shrinks from national obligations, and which, like Pilate, would wash its hands of national responsibilities.

The timorous spirit which they have shown in this proposal to abandon Ireland to anarchy finds its counterpart in the feeling which sees only wanton and unwise aggression in the constant growth and expansion of our Empire. In the history of the past, of its growth and development, Mr. Morley sees nothing to be proud of. He sees only what he calls, with a flourish of tawdry rhetoric, an 'Empire of swagger.' (Laughter.) This great dominion, which has sent forth free nations to every corner of the globe; which holds now under its temperate and orderly sway myriads of men of hostile race, who owe all their hope of tranquillity and prosperity to the continuance of our rule (cheers); which has spread civilization; which has developed commerce till it is competent to support the crowded millions that inhabit this small island, that otherwise would be altogether insufficient to support them—this great machine of progress, this potent force in the history of the world, is to Mr. Morley's philosophic mind (laughter) only an Empire of swagger (laughter), an Empire whose growth he deplores, but which he cannot restrain. (Loud cheering.) In the seven years during which this great Irish agitation has lasted, and during the latter portion of which Mr. Morley and his friends have been endeavouring to get rid of Ireland, we have added to the dominions of the Queen a population as large as that of Ireland and an area 20 times as great. (Cheers.) He cannot prevent the tree from branching, but he would if he could injure the trunk and strike a fatal blow at the root. (Cries of "No," and loud cheers.) The issues which you are called upon to decide are momentous. They involve the principles of our national existence. (Hear, hear.) Apply the policy which these men advocate in Ireland to the government of our great dependency of India. They seem, from signs which have recently

been manifest, not disinclined to do so; and if they succeed, I will venture to predict that in a few years the ordered peace of 250 millions of our fellow-subjects will give way to the anarchy of the Empire of the Mogul, or to the gospel of plunder that was preached by the Mahratta chieftains. It is not, believe me, a policy of Home Rule alone that we have to resent and resist; it is a policy of universal disintegration. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) That is a policy against which I will continue to protest (loud cheers), and I have confidence that the people of this country, when its aim and object are made clear to them, with their old characteristics, their pride and resolution, and power, and stubborn resistance, which have carried them through so many crises and so many dangers, come out of the difficulties by which they may now be assailed, and will maintain intact and undefiled the splendour of an Empire which it has cost much to win, but which is still worthy of all the sacrifices that its sons may make." (Prolonged cheers.)

Professor Goldwin Smith, in a letter to the "Times," January 11th, 1889, on the Home Rule question, closed with the following:—"Show me a case in which a nation has allowed a disaffected province to detach itself and to become an independent power at her side, with its ports forming a standing menace to her own. Show me a case in which a loyal population, clinging to the protection of its ancient government, has been thrust away from that protection, and turned over to an enemy's rule. Show me the political arrangement which has rendered such dismemberment safe and such betrayal honourable. Then will I show you a real analogy for Irish Home Rule."

Mr. John Bright said in 1886:—"The course taken by Mr. Gladstone since the close of the Session has astonished me and given me great trouble. His speaking and writing,

and especially his reception of the Irish deputation, seem to me to have driven him so far on a wrong course, that we can have no hope of any more moderate policy from him. If I had to speak, what could I say? I could only deplore and condemn, and it would be impossible to avoid opening still more widely the breach which now exists between us, and which has given me so much pain. . . . I abstain from attacking him on account of my personal regard for him, which cannot greatly diminish."

Mr. John Bright said, in a letter to Mr. Peter Rylands:—
"It is grievous to say with what bitterness Liberals can treat Liberals whose fault is that they have consistently supported the principles which *all* Liberals accepted less than a year ago. Honesty and capacity in a member are with some of small value in comparison with the suppleness which enables him to turn his back upon himself when a great political leader changes his mind and his course."

Mr. John Bright, writing to Mr. Arthur Elliott, in October, 1887, thus expressed his opinion:—"Mr. Parnell's right hand clasps the hand of Mr. Gladstone on this side of the Atlantic, and with the other he maintains a fraternal greeting with the gang in New York by whom outrage and murder were and are deemed patriotism in Ireland, and who collect the funds out of which more than half the Irish Party in the Parliament at Westminster receive their weekly and monthly pay to insult the Speaker, and to make useful legislation impossible."

Mr. John Bright supported the Crimes Act, and referring to it, he said:—"Force is no remedy for a just discontent, but it is a remedy, and often the only remedy, for the disorder and the violence against which our laws are provided. I supported the Acts of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1881 and 1882 to put down the Land

League and the disorder in Ireland; I now support the Government in their endeavour to suppress the rebel movement of the National League, which is the Land League under another name."

So far back as 1872, Mr. Bright wrote:—"My dear O'Donoghue, -It is said some persons engaged in the canvass of the County of Kerry have spoken of me as an advocate of what is termed Home Rule in Ireland. I hope no one will venture to say anything so absurd and untrue. If it has been said by anyone of any authority in the county, I shall feel obliged if you will contradict it. To have two representative legislative assemblies, or Parliaments, in the United Kingdom, would, in my opinion, be an intolerable mischief, and I think no sensible man can wish for two within the limits of the present United Kingdom who does not wish the United Kingdom to become two or more nations entirely separate from each other."

THE SEPARATIST OBJECTS OF IRISH HOME RULERS.

The Speaker's Handbook states:—

"The speaker who wishes to deal fully with this subject should provide himself with 'As it was Said,' a collection of extracts of speeches by Parnellite M.P.'s and others, published by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union.

"The following are especially valuable as SAMPLE UTTERANCES by Separatists:—

" ' And now, before I go, I will tell you an incident that happened in America. A gentleman came to the platform and handed me twenty-five dollars, saying, 'Here are five dollars for bread and twenty dollars for lead.' '—Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., Dublin, April 29th, 1880.

" ' None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have

described the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.—Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., *Cumman*, February 3rd, 1880.

—“I support the Bill (a Franchise Bill) as far as it goes, but you need not think that it will have the effect of curing the agitation of a Separatist character which exists in Ireland. For if you give us this Bill, or twenty more Bills of the same description, we will never cease from that agitation until we fully obtain our object.”—Mr. W. E. K. Russell, M.P., House of Commons, on Franchise Bill of 1884.

—“I will not misuse my words, and I say that the unquenching and unchangeable passion between England and Ireland is the passion of hate.”—Mr. T. Sexton, M.P., Dublin, October 14th, 1881.

—“The great aim of an independent Irish nation.”—Mr. W. J. Brady, M.P., *Garry*, August 23rd, 1885.

—“We shall never accept, either expressly or impliedly, anything but the full right to manage our own affairs and make our land a nation, to secure for her, *free from outside control*, the right to shape her own destinies amongst the nations of the earth.”—Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., *Ennis*, November 3rd, 1885.

—“We are working not simply for the removal of grievances. The principle embodied in the Irish movement of to-day is just the same principle which was the soul of every Irish movement for the last seven centuries—the principle of rebellion against the rule of strangers, the principle which Owen Roe O’Neill vindicated at Benbulbin, which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and on which Emmet sacrificed a stainless life.”—Mr. John Keenan, M.P., *Chicago*, August, 1886.

—N.B.—All the foregoing names are those of rebels. There being a rebel when there was an Irish Parliament.

Dr. Goldwin Smith states:—

“Ireland has no real political grievance. If she has one, what is it? None has yet been named, nor has Parnell ever brought forward in Parliament any motion for redress or reform. He at once raised the standard of moral rebellion, sought to wreck the House of Commons by obstruction, and let murder loose in Ireland. Never was an insurrection more devoid, not only of real and substantial, but even of alleged cause. Surely Parliament, if it has any sense of its own dignity, might at least require that the demands of Mr. Parnell and the Irish should be respectfully and constitutionally presented to it before it rushes into surrender. I have never failed, I believe, as a public writer, to advocate the redress of every Irish grievance. Nor have I been cold or backward in doing justice to the graces of Irish character. But dynamite, murder, mutilation of cattle, calumnious mendacity, and treacherous ingratitude to friends and benefactors, are not graces of character in any race whatever. Any race which thought that they were would be on the high road to perdition. . . . What they (the Parnellites) seek and have sought throughout is not reform, to which they have never, even in the case of the Land Act, lent anything like a cordial support, but separation. Mr. Lecky, the historian, is an Irishman, and an Irish patriot. He has warmly defended his compatriots with his pen. He says that the one thing which Ireland wants is British security for contracts, commerce, and industry. . . . Deliver Ireland into the hands of the revolutionists; by the fatal necessity of revolutions the more violent will prevail, and there will follow an orgy of confiscation. Mr. Parnell calls for Grattan’s Parliament; but what he means is Tyrconnel’s Parliament, which passed a sweeping Act of Attainder against all Protestant

and British proprietors. The reign of Jacobin robbery in France, by paralysing all the motives to industry, brought on a national famine; a reign of Fenian robbery in Ireland would do the same."

IRELAND COMPARED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.

Professor Goldwin Smith, writing from New York to the "Times" (April 23rd, 1889) states:—"Hatred of England in the breasts of vulgar Americans is often sincere, and no wonder, considering the lies on which ignorance is daily fed. But the hollowness of the pretended sympathy with Ireland is easily exposed. Russia in Poland, Prussia in Posen, the German Empire in Alsace-Lorraine, Austria in more than one disaffected province, Italy in Sicily, Spain in Cuba, France in Algeria, and even in her own capital, have had to resort to measures of coercion more stringent than any to which the British Government has resorted to in Ireland. In almost every country in Europe martial law at some time has reigned. Why have the American politicians and journals been mute? Why have no resolutions been passed, no burning editorials penned on behalf of the oppressed? Why do the Irish engross all the pity? Why is England singled out for denunciation? When you ask an American these questions he tells you that Americans feel a particular interest in English affairs. England ought to be deeply grateful. . . . There are, as I have told you before, more evictions among the poor population of the city of Washington than there are of farm tenants in all Ireland; and in Washington the process is summary and ruthless; the defaulter is turned at once, with his family and goods, into the street. It has been shown conclusively, and ought to be known to every American politician and journalist who talks or writes pathetically about Irish evictions, that

the land law is more favourable to the tenant, especially in regard to the ownership of improvements, in Ireland than it is generally in the United States. . . . Of Irish character, or at least of the influences by which it has been produced, and the measure of blame attaching to the British Government for its defects, my opinion, as I have already frankly avowed, has been greatly modified by what I have seen in the United States. The oppression and butchery of the unoffending negroes by the Irish, their oppression and butchery of the equally unoffending Chinese, their Molly Maguire conspiracies and outrages, the part which they and their leaders play in politics, and especially in city government, the dislike and fear with which as a political element they are universally regarded by American citizens, the place which they occupy in the statistics of intemperance and crime, could not fail to produce an impression on any mind but that of a most devout Gladstonian or an idiot."

It was reported by the Radical Press that Mr. J. A. Froude, the eminent historian, had declared himself in favour of Home Rule, whereupon Mr. Caddell wrote to him, which elicited this reply: "I can only answer that my opinion remains what it has always been. Home Rule will be the first and probably irrevocable step towards the separation of the Islands; it will increase the wretchedness of Ireland, and will be followed at no distant period by the break-up of the British Empire."

BENEFITS TO IRELAND.

IN 1870 a Land Act was introduced by Mr. Bright, by which means State loans were granted to Irish tenants up to two-thirds of the value of their farms, to enable them to purchase them, and in eight years 877 tenants

purchased their farms, at an aggregate value of £859,622, and borrowed £514,536. The Land Act of 1881 enabled the tenant to borrow three-fourths of the value for the purpose of purchase, and in the four following years 731 sales were made, the sum advanced being £240,554. Under both these Acts the period of the loan was fixed at thirty-five years, at the rate of five per cent., including principal and interest.

Lord Ashbourne's Act was passed on August 14th, 1885, and under it the tenant can borrow the whole of his purchase money, repaying it in principal and interest together, at the rate of four per cent. in forty-nine years. Out of the £4 per cent. $3\frac{1}{2}$ is for interest, and the remainder forms a sinking fund.

The advantage to the tenant is very great, but the pecuniary loss to the landlord is very considerable, as he sells frequently at eighteen years' purchase, and the annuity is calculated at nearly thirty years' purchase.

Mr. R. H. Beauchamp, in a letter to the "Times," November 10th, 1888, said:—"There is, however, another interest, besides that of either tenant or of party, which should be regarded at this juncture. Hitherto the benefits have all been on the side of the tenant; the burden of the loss, a ruinous loss, too, has been laid upon the landlord. The agitation and the legislation of 1881 consequent upon it have swept almost everything from him. All interest in his property, save as a mere rent-charger, is gone. Except the land comprising his demesne, he has nothing with which he may deal freely and without restriction."

Mr. S. M. Hussey (*see* "Times," November 12th, 1888) states:—"Last week I sold two farms under Lord Ashbourne's Act. They were liable to pay lay tithe, as well as the clerical tithe now payable to Government.

The Commissioners cut down the purchase money below that agreed on by the tenant, and they ordered the lay tithe to be redeemed at twenty years' purchase, deducting the poor rates according to the average of the last four years, which happened to be four shillings in the pound, so that the redemption money was sixteen years' purchase—a figure high enough considering the price at which they fixed the land. But while the Irish landlord who held the lay tithes only received sixteen years' purchase for them, the rich British Government require their tithes to be redeemed at twenty-two and a-half years' purchase.

This is compensation with a vengeance for taking away thirty-five per cent. of our rents—first cutting them down twenty per cent. in 1882, and again reducing them fifteen per cent. in 1887.”

The sum to be granted under the Act was £5,000,000, and up to the 31st August, 1888, applications were made up to £5,842,915, and loans actually sanctioned extended to £4,732,754. The purchase moneys have averaged seventeen to eighteen years' purchase of the net rentals.

Hitherto, where the rentals have exceeded £4 per annum, the county cess and poor's rate have been paid half by the landlord and half by the tenant, but now that the tenant is a landowner and occupier in one, he will of course have to pay the whole. With these exceptions he will have no other burden than heretofore, and the annual payment he now makes will be part of the purchase-money of his land, so that in forty-nine years he will own the land free from any incumbrance.

The effect of multiplying ownerships, as we have often remarked, must be a most powerful factor in stamping out the principles of criminal agitations, and establishing a healthy constitutional conservatism.

The *advantages* to the tenants—now proprietors—is very

great, in proof of which we will quote a few instances as recorded in the "Times." On Lord Waterford's estate about 150 tenants have bought or agreed to buy their holdings. One man whose rent was £107 will now only have to pay £87 per annum by instalments as purchase-money.

Another who paid a rental of £97 10s. will now have to pay only £71.

Another who paid £195 will now pay only £121 5s. 8d.

Another who paid £124 will now pay only £74.

Another who paid £80 will now pay only £45.

Another who paid £124 will now pay only £64.

Another who paid £92 will now pay only £55.

Another who paid £147 will now pay only £102.

Another who paid £92 will now pay only £60.

Another who paid £80 will now pay only £56.

Another who paid £129 will now pay only £72.

Another who paid £113 will now pay only £81.

It must be remembered, too, that the rentals quoted are the *reduced* rentals, so that the difference between the interest on the purchase-money and the original rentals is very great, in some cases not much more than half. This, and the fact that at the purchase all the rent and arrears of rent are freed, makes the advantage to the peasants very great indeed, although it is a great loss to the landlords.

Under the Land Act of 1887 considerable relief is afforded to tenants who purchased under the Land Act of 1870, as they are allowed to come under the four per cent. annuity—principal and interest—instead of as hitherto five per cent.—principal and interest.

Many good Irish landlords have justly been regarded by their tenants with real affection, until the paid professional agitator found it in his interest to foment strife

and create enmity ; but despite these attempts in all parts of the country, some of the landlords have through it all retained the affection of their people. Such was the case at Luggacurren, the estate of the Earl Stanhope, which was fully described in the "Times" of April 14th, 1887, under the heading "A State of Peace." The people said that they felt parting with Lord Stanhope as a landlord, and that they were very grateful to him, that he had always taken a personal interest in his property, and once, when there was a dispute with a tenant, he went over himself from London, and settled it.

Again, the late Earl of Shannon was another landlord much respected by his people. He sold two of his estates in different parts of the country, under Lord Ashbourne's Act, to his tenants. One of his estates of 3400 acres, held by fifty-eight tenants, at rents amounting to £3122 per annum, was sold at an average of only seventeen years' purchase, and his lordship allowed the arrears to be added to the purchase-money. One tenant who paid £50 per annum, will now only have to pay £24. Another who paid £272, will now pay £149. Another who paid £30, will now pay £12. One man said he would rather be under Lord Shannon than under the Government, if it were not for the very advantageous terms on which they were enabled to buy : "because we can expect no consideration from the Government."

Lord Shannon had always been a resident landlord, popular with his tenants, and a large employer of labour. He and his Countess were very much respected.

With all the talk in England about the rents of the Irish farm tenants, few realise that the rentals, instead of being rack rents, are so low that the tenants can sell their leases in many cases for as much money as could be obtained for the fee simple—or freehold—of their land.

and it is this value of the tenants' rights which adds so much to the security of the farm to the State in advancing money under Lord Ashbourne's Act.

As an evidence of the value of tenants' leases—or "rights"—the estate of Mr. Bagwell Purefoy may be cited. In forty cases of sales by the tenants of their leases during the last twenty years, no less than £10,517 has been paid for farms, of which the rents were £436 12s. 10d., and the freehold of the same land has now been sold for £8,000. This proves that the land has all the time been let at very much below its value.

Mr. W. T. Trench, of Loughton, King's County, gives the following instances of prices tenants have been able to sell the leases of their farms for:—

No.	Acreage.	Rent.			Tenant Right.
		£	s.	d.	
1	14½	26	0	0	103
2	3½	4	5	0	80
3	3½	5	0	0	52
4	6	3	0	0	80
5	50	40	0	0	595

Another Irish gentleman writes:—

"A tenant of mine in Tipperary, who holds a farm at a yearly rent of £5, determined to sell his right of occupancy, balance his accounts, and leave the estate. The tenant right was accordingly sold at public auction, and realized seventy-five years' purchase, or the enormous sum of £375."

Many other instances could be given of tenants being so low rented as to be able to sell their interest in their farm the same as a London leaseholder in his house.

The following instances on the Fishmongers' Estate, above Ballykelly, prove again that the farms have been let

very considerably below their intrinsic value, for in each case the tenant has been able to get more for his lease than the landlord has been able to get for his freehold.

Name of Purchaser.	Acreage of holding.	Rent.	Price paid for fee simple.	Price paid for tenant right.
	Acres.	£ s.	£	£
HAMILTON ...	12	6 10	95	275
COYLE ...	51	40 16	594	800
BOYD ...	18	20 0	285	820
SHANNON ...	23	22 10	331	620
CRAIG ...	61	37 0	539	800

Take again similar cases on the Duke of Abercorn's estates in Tyrone and Donegal:—

Name of Tenant.	Size of Holding.	Valuation.	Rent.	Price paid for fee-simple.	Price paid for tenant right.
	Acres.	£ s.	£ s.	£	£
J. ROULSTON ...	35	23 0	24 10	440	430
A. POTTERFIELD ...	40	22 10	24 0	425	470
DITTO ...	55	22 10	25 15	475	470
J. M'CONNELL ...	50	31 10	34 0	615	650
N. BELL ...	21	14 10	14 10	275	275
G. LOWRY ...	58	69 0	60 0	1100	1450
T. M'KENLAY ...	101	89 0	84 0	1500	2600
S. BUCHANAN ...	8	5 0	5 10	100	145
W. M'CAUSLAND ...	22	18 0	20 5	350	575
DITTO ...	33	11 0	11 15	200	230
A. J. CHAMBERS ...	25	17 10	17 0	325	450
A. VANCE ...	50	29 0	31 0	575	800

These are simply examples of very many cases.

On all sides where tenants have purchased their holdings is heard the cry that they are so well satisfied that they will have nothing more to do with agitation.

No wonder that the professional agitator objects to the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act. If agitation were at an end, his occupation would be gone. There would be

no more funds from America, no more division of large amounts, and these noisy troubles would sink back again into the obscure chasm whence they dragged themselves by sheer impudent lawlessness.

The effect upon the country by the sale to the tenants was described by the Lord-Lieutenant in a speech at Belfast, in October, 1888. His Lordship gave some very instructive statistics of the diminution of crime since the passing of the Crimes Act. In the year preceding the passing of the Crimes Act, ending August 31st, 1887, there occurred in Ireland 590 agrarian outrages, excluding threatening notices and letters; but during the succeeding year down to September, 1888, agrarian outrages fell to 425.

On July 31st, 1887, there were 870 persons wholly boycotted, and 3965 persons partially boycotted in Ireland. On September 30th, 1888, there were only 79 wholly boycotted persons, and 1093 partially boycotted persons.

It has been boasted that no one would dare to take an evicted farm, but during the first six months of the year 1888 no less than 160 of such farms have been re-let, and the re-letting of others is steadily progressing.

It is a well known fact that there are many tenants in Ireland "bitterly cursing" the day that they became the dupes of the National League, and allowed themselves to be persuaded or compelled to adopt that shameful conspiracy called the Plan of Campaign.

An instance is given by a correspondent of the "Times," who informs the public that the barony of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, has for centuries been one of the most disturbed districts, and that ever since the present agitation commenced, the League has reigned supreme throughout the district, with its usual accompaniments of boycotting and intimidation. That part of the barony belonging to the Marquis of Bath has been recently

sold to the tenants under Lord Ashbourne's Act, but the remainder, belonging to Mr. S. E. Shirley, still remains unsold. The *effect* is that the part sold to the tenants has suddenly become so peaceful that the leading agitators in the district are denouncing the tenants who have purchased—hundreds in number—as unpatriotic, because they will not attend political meetings, will not subscribe to nationalist testimonials, and have given up the “*Freeman's Journal*”—the Home Rule organ—by upwards of 115 copies per day.

That part of the barony remaining unsold and still occupied by tenants, is still under agitation by the League.

The manly vigour of Mr. Balfour's consistent and continuous action in suppressing lawlessness, and the “*Times*’” consistent and continuous action in exposing it and its attendant villanies, receive the admiration of all law-abiding subjects of the Queen, especially as both Mr. Balfour and the “*Times*” are continually charged in public speeches and articles with the very worst motives, and assailed by a constant tirade of virulent falsehoods. We do not doubt that their pluck is equal to the occasion, and that they will proceed upon the lines which have hitherto been marked with so much success.

For the year 1887, amongst other benefits to Ireland, there has been advanced the following sums, in addition to the immense sums for the same purposes in previous years:—For constructing commercial harbours, £15,600; for labourers' dwellings in towns, £43,700, up to December 31st, 1888; for labourers' cottages in rural districts, £175,000; for sanitary works, £111,000; for river drainage, £64,000; for the improvement of lands, £46,000 to landlords, and £50,000 to tenants; for other purposes, £170,200.

The low prices of purchase moneys received by the landlords, and the advantages to the tenants, is shown in the following letter, which appeared in the "Times" of November 27th, 1888, from the pen of the gentleman who wrote the special articles on the effect of the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act:—

"May I point out that in quoting instances where tenants have re-sold their purchases, Lord Lymington rather understates his case? It is true that Michael M'Keogh bought his holding in county Cork, rented at £4 10s., for £67 10s., and sold it for £90, but the purchaser took over the liability for repaying the £67 10s. to the State, and therefore in reality gave £157 10s. for a holding on which the State only advanced £54, being £67 10s., less one-fifth retained as guarantee deposit. In this case it is clear that the landlord got fifteen years' purchase for the fee-simple, and the tenant twenty years' purchase for his interest. Several cases in which re-sales have taken place are cited in the articles on the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act which recently appeared in your columns. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of a tenant on the Drapers' estate, who bought his farm for £775 under the provisions of the Act, and sold it, subject to this sum, for £1752, the purchaser in this case considering a farm worth £2527 on which the State has only advanced £620."

The advantage of Lord Ashbourne's Act to the Irish farmers is thus illustrated by an "Irish Liberal," in the "Times" of November 19th, 1888:—

"Some years ago a property of the annual rental of £400, besides 100 acres of valuable peat bog in hand, was bought in the Landed Estates Court. When bad times came, the rents were reduced by agreement to £280. Recently the tenants 'purchased' for the sum of £4500,

including the bog, worth to them £75 per annum, in addition. They are now freeholders, subject to an annuity of £180, which terminates in forty-nine years. They have not been called upon to pay down sixpence of the purchase-money, but the vendor, the landlord, is obliged to leave twenty per cent., about £900, in the hands of the Treasury to protect it from loss—terms for the tenants unprecedented in their liberality. The operation of the Act is creating wide-spread contentment and loyalty where made use of; the farmers abandon connection with agitation, are anxious to mind their business, and would vote almost unanimously against any man or measure calculated to oppose the Union.”

The Marquis of Salisbury, in a public speech at Watford, March 19th, 1889, said: “The real test of the position of the Irish tenant is this. His advocates have been challenged again and again to point out any country in Europe or America where the position of the tenant is so favourable as it is in Ireland. (Hear.) It is not so in England, it is not so in Scotland, it is not so in France, it is not so in America, it is not so in any country under the sun. (Cheers.) Parliament has done everything, has strained every principle, has leaned heavily—nay, I think with unjust weight—against the other party to the contract (hear, and cheers) in its earnest desire to deprive the Irish tenant of any pretence for a grievance in respect to the tenure which under the law he enjoys.” (Cheers.)

His Lordship subsequently said:—“Therefore, in our judgment, the first and most important thing, as soon as we have restored order—the most important thing is to increase the number of occupying owners in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) I need not tell you that Lord Ashbourne’s Acts have had this object in view, but I believe we may go much further with safety and profit. I look on legisla

tion of that kind as affording great hope of the restoration of prosperity and happiness to Ireland. When you once have a large number of occupying owners in Ireland I believe the cry for Home Rule will disappear, and that local self-government may be granted with perfect safety even in the most disturbed districts." (Cheers.)

PROSPERITY OF IRELAND.

MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM, of Saughton Towers, Chester, private secretary to Mr. Balfour, speaking at Sale, Cheshire, on December 19th, 1888, gave some remarkable figures in illustration of the beneficial effects of Lord Salisbury's legislation in Ireland. He said that the Registrar-General of the country, in an address to the Statistical Society only ten days ago, said there were in Ireland this year under corn, meadow, and clover, 86,000 more acres of land than there were last year. At the present time Ireland was a prosperous country, and its prosperity was increasing. In the thirty years up to 1881, there was an increase of 1,368,000 head of cattle in the island, representing an increase of wealth of ten millions sterling. In 1881 there were £3,760,000 in the savings' banks, and in 1887 £4,970,000—that is to say, in 1881 there was 14s. a head, and in 1887, £1 a head. During the same six years the paupers decreased by 100,000. The most important set of figures were those which related to the houses of Ireland. If they divided the houses of Ireland into four classes, according to comfort and accommodation, they discovered that since 1841 there had been an increase in first class houses of 26,000, and in second class houses of 158,000; in third class or bad houses there had been a decrease of 149,000, and the

fourth class houses—the mud cabins of which they heard so much—had declined from 490,000 to 40,000. For every twelve mud hovels which existed in 1841 there was but one now.

IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

THE “Times” Dublin article of March 11th, 1889, stated:—“The assizes which are now proceeding have fully confirmed the statement of the Chief Secretary as to the improved condition of the country. In almost every instance words of congratulation have been addressed to the grand juries by the Judges, and the calendar and the constabulary reports show a marked diminution in agrarian as well as ordinary crime. The exceptional cases are not many.”

And the “Times” of the next day reported:—“At the opening of the Kerry Spring Assizes to-day, Baron Dowse congratulated the grand jury upon the improvement which had taken place in the state of the county. There were, he said, 210 crimes of the character which are specially reported to the police when he last addressed a Kerry grand jury three years ago. Now there were but 139 such offences, while at the corresponding period of last year there were 174 such cases. This certainly was a significant decrease, and showed the improved condition of the county. He also learned with satisfaction that boycotting had largely decreased. Whereas there were several hundreds boycotted a few years ago, there were now comparatively few subjected to that odious species of tyranny. In January the number of agrarian outrages amounted to but five, compared with a very considerable number in former years. There was also a decrease in all minor offences, except drunkenness which showed an increase.”

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., stated some facts in the "Times" of March 25th, 1889, thus:—

"First, as to agrarian crime. Here all is plain sailing, and he who runs may read. In the year 1880, when Mr. Gladstone was at the helm, and his party were still in the gall of bitterness, there were 2585 agrarian outrages reported by the police. In 1888, under the administration of Mr. Balfour, there were only 660 cases reported under this category. Now, whatever has changed in the interval, the laws of arithmetic are still the same, and I invite your readers to note the difference between the two years.

"Secondly, as to evictions. In 1880, there were 2110 evictions, involving the unhousing of 10,656 human beings. Of these 217 families, representing 1021 persons, were restored as tenants, and 947 families, representing 4996 persons, were readmitted as caretakers. Whether all these subsequently settled and went back as tenants I am unable to say. If they did not, and were ultimately evicted, so much the better for my comparison. But, assuming that they all did so, this leaves 947 families actually evicted in 1880. In 1888 there were 644 evictions of tenants at the suit of the landlord, and 129 sub-tenants—*i.e.*, men holding under and from the evicted tenants—were also, and necessarily, turned out. This makes a total of 773 evictions in 1888 as against 946 in 1880.

"Thirdly, as to boycotting. On the 31st of August, 1887, there were 4556 persons boycotted in Ireland. On the 31st of December, 1887, the number had fallen to 2469. On the 31st of December, 1888, it stood at 712. Here, at all events, there can be no mistake, and even Lord Spencer, whose contempt for 'the miserable and despicable minority' in Ireland has been recently proclaimed, can rejoice at the failure of Mr. Parnell's policy of treating as lepers those who differ from him.

“Fourthly, as to ordinary crime. The Judges have now gone through nearly the entire country holding the Spring Assizes. With the exception of the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Waterford, where they announce considerable improvement, every other county is declared to be in a highly satisfactory condition. It is many years since Her Majesty’s Judges have had the same story to tell. And a fact specially noteworthy is that in almost every county the Judges have had to comment upon a remarkable increase in the cases of intoxication. However much this may be deplored, my experience—and I have carefully watched the statistics of Irish drunkenness for twenty-five years—is that drunkenness goes up and down with the good and bad years. This increase undoubtedly proves that the people have more money to spend upon luxuries, as distinguished from the necessities of life.”

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., continued, proving the revival of trade in Ireland during 1888; in recording the speeches of chairmen of three of the largest public concerns in Dublin; in a list of public companies, with quotations comparing the years 1885, 1886 and 1889. He then showed that the banking statistics were equally encouraging. Then as to agriculture, he stated:—

“The admirable returns of the Registrar-General enable us to estimate the situation in this respect with something approaching accuracy. No doubt in some parts of the country—and these, unfortunately, the poorest—the potato crop has been a failure, amounting in some districts to less than half an average. But, taken as a whole, the crops have been more than an average, and prices, especially of cattle, have been very good. Both in yield and prices the farmers were better off last year than they have been for many years.”

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., concluded thus :—

“ I do not care into what direction the inquirer strikes, he will find improvement. We hear much of the Crimes Act. It ought not to be forgotten that more than one-half of Ireland hardly knows there is such a statute, and even where it has been enforced the pressure on the authorities is distinctly lessening.

“ When political rancour threatens to obscure a great deal, these facts may do something to reassure those whose friendship for Ireland does not consist in sympathy for the criminal and the inciter to crime, but who feel rather for the victims of their cruel tyranny.”

The “ Times ” Dublin article of March 4th, 1889, states :—“ Whatever may be said of the value of the landlords’ property in Ireland, the value of the tenants’ interest does not seem to be decreasing. Only the other day a farmer named Patrick Ryan, of Kilross, county Tipperary, sold his interest in a farm of 64 acres 2 rods (Irish measure) for £1375, which, together with the auction fees, made the price £1448 15s. The landlord, Count Moore, gave his consent to the sale on payment of £120 out of a sum of £256 due to him.”

The “ Times,” in a leading article in April, 1889, stated :—“ As a matter of fact, every scrap of authentic information about Ireland goes to show that the condition of the country is better than at any time for a great many years past. All the ordinary and accepted criteria of national prosperity concur in showing a most gratifying improvement. Trade is brisk, prices are good, confidence is reviving with the growing conviction of the people that the Government is in earnest in maintaining order, and even the agrarian difficulty, the mainstay of those who live by Irish disorder, is reduced to manageable dimensions. With the exception of one or two particularly troublesome

spots, where congestion is chronic, and turbulence a habit, the improved condition of the country is a striking testimony to the efficiency of Mr. Balfour's administration."

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., in the same month, said at a public dinner at the Crystal Palace: "He could claim that Ireland under the firm government of Mr. Balfour had improved in every way. This statement could be substantiated by the tests of agrarian crime, of ordinary crime, of evictions, of boycotting, and of trade; and the landlords and tenants were on a distinctly better footing than formerly."

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., wrote to the "Times" (April 17th, 1889), giving statistics of the diminution of crime under Mr. Balfour's administration of the Crimes Act, and he said: "Agrarian crime was at a *minimum* before the League commenced operations in 1879. With the formation and progress of that organization it rapidly developed, attaining its *maximum* in 1881. With the passage of Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act in 1882 things at once began to mend, until the year 1884 showed only 155 cases, as compared with 614 in 1881. The Coercion Act expired in 1885, whereupon the figures began to mount up again, only to fall once more on the passage of the Act of 1887. And I am glad to say that the returns for the first quarter of 1889 show even a better result than those of 1888."

A BRIGHT FUTURE.

THERE remains a bright future for Ireland. England is strong enough, and wise enough, and just enough to uphold right laws in Ireland; and the effect will be social peace and safety.

Ireland needs a firm and determined suppression of lawless tyranny, and a firm and determined upholding of the law. This is the policy of Mr. Balfour under the present Government, in which Conservatives and Liberals unite to uphold the Union, and by it Ireland will yet be a land of peace.

The Education Act is working well in Ireland, and when the present rising generation have had their minds expanded the Roman Catholic Church will fail to hold them in the bondage of superstition and servile obedience which now prevails.

Tacitus, as we have already seen, informs us that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient entirely to conquer Ireland and keep it in subjection. This was in the year 82 A.D. The inference is that by firm rule Ireland could be kept in peace.

The years 976 A.D. onward during the reign of Brian Borua, King of Munster, were also distinguished by peace because he ruled the country with firmness and determination, and it was in Brian's reign that "a beautiful maiden adorned with jewels and bearing a bright gold ring on her hand could pass alone through the land fearless of wrong." Again, in the time of Cromwell, the country was ruled thoroughly. "He yielded nothing which he held essential." Lawlessness was put down and quiet and safety restored.

So now, a firm, determined policy, one devoid of fear and hesitation, one devoid of pandering to popularity by buying the silence of a lawless faction, will prevail to restore quiet and safety. The consequence will be that the value of all properties in Ireland will increase, and those who have secured land, whether under Lord Ashbourne's Act or by paying for it outright, will have in it an accumulating source of wealth.

The "Speaker's Handbook" states:—

"HOME RULE NONSENSE ABOUT INVADERS.

"A great deal of nonsense is often talked about the English settlers in Ireland being invaders and interlopers. Of course they were, but that does not afford any reason whatever for clearing their descendants out of the country. The Celtic Irish themselves were once interlopers, who so treated their predecessors in occupation that hardly any trace of them is to be found. Besides, if this is to be the rule, why confine it to Ireland? On such a theory the English should not only retire from Ireland, but from England, which they once took from the ancient Britons, whose descendants are still living in Wales. The entire white people, both English and Irish, who live in the United States ought, on that principle, to send all American negroes back to Africa and come to Europe themselves, so as to leave America to the Red Indians, to whom it once undoubtedly belonged.

"IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH.

"Ireland would, perhaps, never have been reduced by English troops but for the Pope and Philip II. of Spain. In 1579 they despatched a force to Ireland to strike at Elizabeth. The Earl of Desmond joined them, carrying with him the native Irish. They were, however, utterly routed by Lord Grey de Wilton; Desmond's estates were forfeited, and a Parliament sitting in Dublin allotted them to English settlers. These settlers were called "undertakers," because they undertook to reside on the lands. In 1593 fresh troubles arose, this time in the north, when Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, demanded the expulsion of all English settlers and officials, and looked for aid to Spain. He roused the native Irish, with whom many of

the earlier settlers joined, the rebellion became widespread, and Elizabeth's "undertakers" had to fly. In 1601 the Spaniards arrived, but Lord Mountjoy completely defeated them, and reduced the whole country. The year 1603, the same that witnessed the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, saw the first conquest of Ireland.

"THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

"It is possible—and, indeed, likely—that but for religion there would not now be an Irish Question. Conquerors and conquered have existed at all times and in all countries, and, save where some powerful disintegrating element was at work, such as a religious difference, they have usually coalesced. The Reformation, however, brought a new quarrel into Ireland. The earlier English settlers remained Roman Catholic, and amalgamated easily with the native Irish, becoming, in the language of the old proverb, 'More Irish than the Irish themselves'; but the later settlers, being Protestants, never so amalgamated. The old quarrel was superseded by another."

The "Speakers' Handbook on the Irish Question" gives the following information:—

"THE IRISH ACRE.

"An Irish acre equals 1 acre 2 roods 19 perches Statute measure. It is to the Statute acre as 196 is to 121. Consequently, an Irish farmer who pays £1 per Irish acre for his holding (and there are many such cases) pays only 12s. 4d. per Statute acre."

"THE HANGING GALE.

"It is important that this custom should be understood. It means that rent, legally due on, say, March 31st, 1886, is not demanded nor payable by the custom of the estate

for either six or twelve months later. Thus, on the Vandeleur estate, at the time of the recent evictions, the rent was legally due up to March, 1888, but only asked for as due up to March, 1887, while by the custom of the estate the rent due in March, 1888, will not become payable till March, 1889. The custom is tantamount to allowing the tenants to be always one year in arrears. Unfortunately, if the landlord has to sue his tenants, he is legally obliged to sue for the full amount legally due, though in every case he is obviously willing to settle for the amount due by custom *or less*."

" THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

" It is impossible to understand anything about the Irish Land Question without some knowledge of its history. In connection with this, the following facts are of importance :—

" 1. Up to the close of the last century Ireland was a purely pastoral country, breeding cattle, but growing no corn.

" 2. In 1650 the population was about 1,250,000 ; in 1750 it was about 2,500,000.

" 3. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a great economic change occurred, and Ireland was rapidly turned from a pastoral into a tillage country. This was due to the increasing population of England and the demand thence for food. The movement was accelerated by bounties on the exportation of grain, and every legislative encouragement.

" 4. As a consequence, the population began to increase very rapidly. In 1790 it was 4,000,000 ; in 1800 it was 5,000,000 ; in 1841 it was over 8,200,000.

" 5. This state of things was completely upset by the famine, which led to a rapid decline in population and a speedy return from tillage to pasture.

"6. While tillage has been decreasing in Ireland ever since the famine, pasture has been increasing correspondingly."

"THE LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881.

"This Act—the largest and most important of all those passed for Irish agriculture—gave three privileges to the tenant-farmers of Ireland, popularly known as 'the three F's,' namely, FIXITY OF TENURE, FAIR RENT, and FREE SALE, while it gave increased facilities for purchase. It will be well to discuss these subjects separately.

"1. BY FIXITY OF TENURE the tenant was enabled to remain in possession of his land FOR EVER, subject to periodical revision of his rent. (Sect. 8.)

"2. UNDER FAIR RENT yearly tenants may apply to the Land Commission Court (the overwhelming majority of the judges of which were appointed by Mr. Gladstone) to fix the fair rent of his holding. This application is referred to three persons, one of whom is a lawyer, while the other two, who are agriculturists, inspect and value the farm. This rent can never be raised again by the landlord. (Sect. 8.)

"It is important to bear in mind that if a tenant has not had a fair rent fixed, and his landlord proceeds to evict him for non-payment of rent, he can apply to the Court to fix the fair rent; and, meantime, the eviction proceedings will be restrained by the Court. (Sect. 13.)

"FREE SALE.—By this provision every yearly tenant, whether he had a fair rent fixed or not, may sell his tenancy to the highest bidder whenever he desires to leave (Sect. 1); while even if a tenant be evicted he has the right either to redeem *within six months*, or to sell his tenancy within the same period to a purchaser, who can likewise redeem, and thus acquire all the privileges of the tenant. (Land Act, 1881, Sect. 13.)

“ THE ARREARS ACT, 1882.

“ It is generally stated that the ‘ Arrears ’ question has never been dealt with in Ireland, and that the failure to settle it on the part of the Imperial Parliament is a proof of the incompetence of that body to settle the Irish Land Question.

“ How untrue is the statement can only be realised by those who know that in 1882 an Arrears Act was passed for Ireland.

“ That Act provided that those tenants whose valuation for rating purposes was below £30 per annum—that is, the tenants of 88.6 of the holdings—should be given a fresh start. They were enabled, no matter how many years’ rent they owed, to clear themselves by the payment of *one year’s rent*. The Government paid the landlord another year’s rent out of the fund of the Disestablished Church, and wiped out by Act of Parliament the residue of the tenant’s debt. Of course the Court had, in justice both to the landlord and the country, to inquire as to the ability or inability of the tenant to pay.

“ Under this Act 126,882 holdings were benefited. The annual rental of these holdings was £1,185,265, and £1,820,586 of arrears was absolutely wiped out. (*See Parliamentary Return presented in 1884 by the Land Commission, of which the following is a summary*) :—

	Holdings.	Arrears wiped out.
Ulster	41,134	£561,391
Munster	18,994	341,198
Leinster	12,879	223,902
Connaught	52,883	634,333
Extra cases under Sect. 16 of Act .	992	59,762
Total	126,882	£1,820,586 ”

“ A JUDICIAL REDUCTION NO PROOF OF PREVIOUS
EXTORTION.

“ We are now brought face to face with the most common misrepresentation of the Nationalist Party. It will be observed that while frequently impeaching the conduct of the Land Commissioners—as, indeed, of all officials—they also frequently appeal to the decisions of these same Commissioners as giving distinct proof that the landlords of Ireland have in the past ‘rack-rented’ their tenants grievously.

“ This is frequently done by the citation of some decisions of the Land Commission summarised in the following form :—

Name of Tenant.	Landlord A. B.							
	Old Rent.				New Rent.			
C. D. ...	£40	0	0	...	£32	0	0	... 20
E. F. ...	33	6	8	...	25	0	0	... 25
G. H. ...	50	0	0	...	34	0	0	.. 32
I. J. ...	7	10	0	...	4	0	0	... 46 $\frac{2}{3}$

“ These are fairly typical cases, especially of late years, and they are every day triumphantly cited by the Separatist press as proofs of landlord malpractices.

“ Yet nothing can be clearer than that they prove nothing whatever of the kind ; and for the following reasons :—

“ 1. They leave out of sight the fact that these rents *were perfectly fair* when they were fixed in the days of high prices. The Land Commission never determined that *they WERE unfair rents in the past* ; it has only determined that, in consequence of the fall in prices, *they ARE unfair* at present.

“ 2. It is also forgotten that the rents in the first column do not represent what the landlords have been

demanding from their tenants, but only represent the old contract rents fixed in the day of high prices; but *in thousands of cases* the landlord has voluntarily been making abatements equal to, or even larger than, those granted by the Land Commission.

“ When, therefore, a speaker is confronted with cases of the kind described, he must point out that the first column truly states the original contract rents, but that no column gives any information about the amount of the rent which the landlord has been demanding, which very frequently has been at least 25 per cent. less than that given in the first column. Cases have occurred, as at Glenbeigh and on the Vandeleur estate, where there has been loud talk about rack-rented tenants who had paid not a farthing for years.

“ In reply to this an attempt may be made by the Parnellites to point to the judgments sometimes obtained by landlords against their tenants. Thus they will say A. B. was rented at £25 per annum. He was three years in arrears. His landlord evicted him for £75, proving thereby that no abatement was made.

“ This argument, however, is utterly misleading, inasmuch as a man may be evicted really on account of his unwillingness to pay *anything*, but technically on account of a full demand. Thus a tenant may owe his landlord £100. The landlord may express his willingness to take £20, *and such is a very common case*. If the tenant will pay nothing, the landlord, like any other creditor, will naturally sue for the full amount legally due, otherwise he might legally lose everything.”

“ THE LAND LAW AMENDMENT ACT OF 1887.

“ The privileges conferred on Irish tenants by this Act are as follow :—

“ 1. It permits all leaseholders whose leases would ex-

pire within ninety-nine years after the passing of the Act to go into Court if they wish, and get their contracts broken, and a judicial rent fixed. (Sect. 1, 2.)

“ Thus 100,000 non-perpetuity leaseholders, whose claims Mr. Gladstone always insisted on refusing to recognise, have been given the privilege of getting their rents adjusted in accordance with the fall in prices under the Act of 1881.

“ 2. In view of the fall in agricultural produce the Land Commission is empowered and directed to vary the rents fixed by the Land Courts during the years 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1885, *in accordance with the difference in prices between those years and 1887, 1888, and 1889.* (Sect. 29.)

“ In other words, it was alleged, and alleged with truth, that some ‘fair rents’ fixed between 1881-85 had since become too high, in consequence of the continued fall in prices. Accordingly provision was made for this.

“ The Commissioners published during Christmas week, 1887, the result of their revision, and reduced rents from 6 to 20 per cent., according to the varying conditions of different districts. The average was 14 per cent., or about £360,000 per annum.

“ In the case of tenants whose valuation for rating purposes does not exceed £50 (that is, *in the case of 94 per cent. of all tenants—the poorer 94 per cent.*) the Court before which proceedings are taken for the recovery of *any* debt due by the tenant is empowered to stay his eviction, and may give him liberty to pay by instalments, and can extend the time for such payment as it thinks proper. (Sect. 30.)”

“ IRISH TENANTS *versus* ENGLISH OR SCOTCH TENANTS.

“ 1. The Irish tenant has, but the British tenant has not, compensation for all permanent improvements. It

will be said that Irish tenants are entitled to this, and British tenants are not. This is, *as a rule*, true; but the fact that Irish tenants have the compensation destroys any grievance.

“ 2. The Irish tenant has fixity of tenure: the British tenant has not.

“ 3. The Irish tenant has a Court to fix his rent for him: the British tenant has to pay the full market value.

“ 4. The Irish tenant can sell the good-will of his farm before or after eviction: the British tenant cannot do so.

“ 5. The Irish tenant can buy his holding by paying less for it for forty-nine years than the annual rent: the British tenant cannot.

“ 6. In 1882 the tenantry occupying 88 per cent. of the holdings of Ireland got the chance of getting arrears of rent obliterated. No like chance has ever been given to English or Welsh tenantry, and only to farmers in seven out of twenty-six Scotch counties.

“ 7. Irish leaseholders can break their leases: British leaseholders cannot do so.

“ 8. The Irish tenant can have his rent varied by Act of Parliament in proportion to the market prices.”

“ THE FACTS AND FIGURES OF EVICTIONS.

“ Are there really many evictions in Ireland? Do the landlords there evict, as is alleged, wholesale? Any one would think so whose reading was confined to the Gladstonian and Nationalist press.

“ On this subject every method of exaggeration is employed. There are, however, seven distinct methods employed in this connection to trap the unwary. These are:—

“ 1. The use of extravagant language.

“ 2. The confusion of persons with families, by the

artful employment of which trick the Parnellites make evictions appear about seven times as numerous as they really are.

“ 3. The assumption that of the total number of evictions all are by landlords.

“ 4. The absolute ignoring of the fact that many evicted tenants are at once reinstated as tenants.

“ 5. The absolute ignoring of the fact that very many evicted tenants are readmitted as caretakers, and ultimately redeem their position as tenants.

“ 6. The confusion of eviction notices with evictions.

“ 7. The assumption that if the landlord anywhere evicts a tenant, the landlord alone is to blame.”

“ THE REAL CAUSE OF THE IRISH LAND MOVEMENT.

“ It must never be forgotten that the real cause of the Irish land movement is to drive out English power from Ireland; it is not a movement to ameliorate the condition of the Irish peasantry, but to extirpate those known as the ‘English garrison.’ This fact has never been concealed by the Parnellite Members, as the following extracts from speeches will show:—

“ ‘ I wish to see the tenant-farmers prosperous; but large and important as is the class of tenant-farmers, constituting as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, *I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.*’—Mr. Parnell, at Galway, October 1st, 1880 (‘Freeman’s Journal’ report).

“ ‘ We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland, we must strike at the

foundation, and that foundation is landlordism.'—Mr. T. M. Healy, at Boston, December 24th, 1881 ('Irishman' report).

" 'We wish to get rid of British rule in Ireland. Landlordism is the prop of that rule—it must be abolished.'—Mr. T. M. Healy, at New Orleans, February 4th, 1882.

" 'All our action with regard to this intermediary question of the landlords and tenants is only a step towards the great goal of Irish Nationality.'—Rev. Mr. Cantwell, P.P., V.F., Dublin, September 23rd, 1886.

" 'If they must have any hunting at all, let them keep their hands in practice by hunting landlords. Hunt them up hill and down dale, until landlords are as scarce as foxes.'—Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., Carrick-on-Suir, September 7th, 1884.

" 'I want you to understand that the reduction of rent we require is not a small, or a petty, or a legal reduction, but the total abolition of rent.'—Mr. T. P. O'Connor, St. Louis, U.S.A. ('United Ireland,' January 28th, 1882.)

" 'Fair rent is an abomination—a crime not alone against modern civilization, but a crime against common sense, and a blasphemy against God.'—Rev. Eugene Sheehy, New York ('Irish World,' December 17th, 1881.)

" 'If they were going to be evicted for non-payment of the entire rents, let them be evicted with their rent in their pockets.'—Dr. J. E. Kenny, M.P., Dublin, September 29th, 1886.

" 'Nothing can prevent you continuing the glorious work begun by Michael Davitt, at Irishtown, and exterminating landlordism root and branch, and all its seed, breed and generation. It has pleased God that our lot has been cast in days when we can enjoy the religious equality, education, political power, and social emancipation that our forefathers sighed for and spilled their blood for in

many a hopeless age, and we would be unworthy of our ancestors, we would deserve the scorn and indignation of those that would come after us, if in this day of dawning hope and power for the Irish we ever falter or flinch until we have banished the twin demons of landlordism and of English rule for ever from our shores (cheers), and until we have planted on the highest pinnacle of Dublin Castle the flag of a redeemed and regenerated Irish nation.’—Mr. W. O’Brien, M.P., Tulla, Co. Clare, May 24th, 1885.

“The foregoing passages—and there are many others—which may be found in a volume already alluded to (*‘As it was Said,’* published by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union), may be relied on to prove—

“1. That the attack on the landlords is not a *bona fide* attack in consequence of their conduct, but an attack against them because they are loyal to Great Britain.

“2. That landlords—just or unjust—are to be extirpated in view of this political end.

“3. That ‘fair’ rent is not what is desired.”

“FAIR RENT.

“Under the Fair Rent provisions of the Act of 1881, Courts have gone and go yearly into every one of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, fixing ‘fair rents’ as between landlord and tenant. Rents were fixed in Court in 92,637 cases prior to August, 1887, and in 91,187 cases out of Court, making a total in all of 183,824. About 200,000 judicial tenancies have therefore been erected up to date, and about 200,000 fair rents fixed in Ireland, while a sum of £600,000 per annum has been taken off the rental of Ireland.”

“FIXITY OF TENURE.

“Fixity of tenure is consequent on having a fair rent fixed. The tenant then is practically turned into a lease-

holder for fifteen years, at the end of which term he is started, at a revised rent, for a further period of fifteen years. During this period the landlord cannot add a farthing to his rent, though landlords are frequently abused for not making large abatements in it."

"THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

"There can be no dispute as to what the Plan of Campaign is; it was first announced in the supplement to 'United Ireland' on Saturday, November 20th, 1886.

"Briefly summarised the Plan is as follows:—

"The tenantry on a given estate meet, each tenant pledging himself to abide by the decision of the majority, to hold no personal communication with the landlord or his agent, and to accept no terms not given to every one. The rents may be old rents, judicial rents, or fixed in any way. The landlord has probably offered an abatement, possibly an all-round abatement, but not as large as the tenantry want, or he has refused an all-round abatement, but offered separate abatements to each tenant according to circumstances. This offer is refused. The tenants formulate their demand. On gale-day they go to the rent office in a body. If the agent will not see them *all*, they send their chairman, generally the priest, to demand the all-round abatement they require, the well-to-do farmer asking as much as the poor cottier. The landlord is then offered his rent less by this abatement of 30, 40, or 50 per cent. If he takes it, there the matter ends. If he refuses, the money is lodged with trustees—to be used, if necessary, to fight the landlord."

"THE REAL ARGUMENT FROM THE LAND ACTS.

"It must be remembered that the Unionist Party do not contend that the land laws of Ireland are perfect. Their contention is threefold, and is as follows:—

“ 1. That the Irish people have now no pre-eminent land grievances, but are in an incomparably better position than the tenantry of any other country in the civilised world; and

“ 2. That the measures already passed prove the willingness and competence of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland.

“ 3. That the Unionist Party is willing to do all that is just: witness the Act of 1887.”

PARNELLITES ENFORCE THEIR OWN RENTS.

“THE policy of the Campaigners is also evidenced by the fact that a Parnellite landlord is never denounced, even if he be a far higher rent-charger than a Loyalist. The following case will prove instructive:—

“The Corporation of Dublin is a body composed of sixty members. Its political complexion is undoubted, fifty-five of its members being Parnellites—five being Parnellite M.P.’s, and the Lord Mayor being Mr. Sexton, M.P. They have agricultural tenants who are made to pay every penny of rent, and who never are allowed—under pain of eviction—to get into arrears. In the last week of September, 1888, the Land Commissioners proceeded to fix fair rents for certain tenants of this Corporation at Baldoyle with the following results:—

Name of Tenant.	Area of Holding.	Government Valuation.	Old Rent.	New Rent.	Rentn. per acre.
	A. R. P.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Michael Donnelly ...	30 1 6	39 0 0	70 0 0	46 0 0	35½
Thomas Duffy ...	83 1 4	127 0 0	178 12 6	141 0 0	21½
Richard Howison ...	84 2 27	140 0 0	161 13 0	122 0 0	24½
Nicholas Kearns ...	70 3 18	100 15 0	129 14 0	112 0 0	13
Patrick Peakin ...	64 0 0	90 0 0	135 0 0	105 0 0	23
John Rafter ...	94 1 6	128 15 0	208 16 10	157 0 0	24½
Total ...	427 1 21	625 10 0	883 16 4	683 0 0	23

“It will be observed that in these cases the rent was (1) over £2 an acre, vastly in excess of the average; (2) 41 per cent. over the Government valuation; and (3) reduced by the Land Commissioners a vast deal more per cent. than were the rents of Lord Clanricarde’s tenants; yet no one ever dreams of denouncing this Corporation as *rack-renters*. Politics forbid.”

THE CRIMES ACT OF 1887.

OFFENCES.

“1. Taking part in any criminal conspiracy *now punishable by law*.

“2. Wrongfully and without legal authority using violence and intimidation.

“3. Taking part in any riot or *unlawful assembly*.

“4. Taking forcible possession of premises from which any one has been evicted within twelve months previous.

“5. Assaulting or obstructing officers of the law.

“6. Inciting any person to commit the above offences.”

LAND LAWS.

THE “Times” of November 19th, 1888, publishes a letter from M.P., in which he says:—

“In these days of short political memories it may be useful to recall the following facts:—

“First, as to policy.—The first schemes for Irish land purchase were adopted by Parliament in 1869 and 1870 at the suggestion of Mr. John Bright, a member of Mr. Gladstone’s Cabinet. The purchase clauses of 1870 were further developed by Mr. Gladstone in his Land Act of 1881. A further development was proposed, but not

carried, by Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Gladstone's Irish Secretary, in 1884. Lord Ashbourne's Act, itself only a further development of Mr. John Bright's clauses, was passed in 1885, with the approval and support of the Liberal leaders in both Houses.

"Secondly, as to amount.—In 1881 Mr. Gladstone himself deprecated putting any merely pecuniary limit to the amount to be advanced for purchase of land in Ireland ('Hansard,' vol. 270, page 922). In 1884 Mr. Trevelyan proposed to Parliament to vote £20,000,000. In 1885 Mr. Sexton proposed to increase the £5,000,000 granted under Lord Ashbourne's Act to £20,000,000. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone considered that the dictates of justice and honour could only be satisfied by an immediate advance of £50,000,000."

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., made a series of inspections of several of the great Irish estates, and reported them fully in the "Times." They exposed the false statements of the Radical Press and the Home Rule faction.

AGITATORS' ADVICE.

MR. VERSCHOYLE's article in the "Fortnightly Review," informs us of the people of Kerry:—

"The money goes mainly in drink and dress, and bills run up at shops. The influence of the agitators has made the people reckless, and they spend the money they make without an attempt to lay by money for rent, which they are resolved not to pay; and the agitators recommend them to eat and dress well, and if there be anything left, to give it to the landlord. The shopkeepers cajole the people into spending more and more upon dress; for the last six years the tenants have been freely encouraged to believe they will get all for nothing. They are simply

standing with their hands in their pockets, waiting for something to turn up; there is a widespread increase in the dislike for work; the people will not even make their own bread, but buy bakers' bread, and prefer bread and butter and tea to other food because it gives less trouble to prepare."

Mr. Chamberlain, at a great meeting at Hawick, said:—

"It is of no use offering to them ten per cent. or fifty per cent. reduction so long as they are taught that if they hold out they will get the land for nothing. This is the basis of the 'Plan of Campaign,' which is the most immoral and dishonest conspiracy which has ever been devised in a civilized country. . . . I have no sympathy at all with well-paid patriots, who, one and all, from the highest to the lowest, have made a good thing out of this agitation, and who divide in secret amongst themselves the proceeds of American subscriptions, while they vote in public infinitesimal sums in aid of the starving peasants whom their counsels have reduced to ruin. But for these peasants themselves, whatever error they have committed, I say our pity, and more than that, redress and immediate remedy, are needed."

The agitators in Ireland are living on agitation as a profession; it pays them, and by it they have got the people they dupe to return them to Parliament, and thus a prestige is given to clamorous nobodies who otherwise would be unknown.

COMPARISON BETWEEN EVICTIONS IN IRELAND AND ELSEWHERE.

A METROPOLITAN police magistrate recently wrote to the "Times," comparing London evictions with Irish evictions. He said—

“I do not know whether ‘well-paid patriots’ are generally aware that by 1 and 2 Vict., cap. 74, in the case of a tenant of any house or land, held at will, or for a term not exceeding seven years, at a rent not exceeding £20 per year, the English landlord can, in a petty sessions or police court, recover the possession in twenty-one days. At the expiration of that time the police (not the sheriff) go in and remove (‘by force, if needful’) the tenant and his effects. There is not, as in Ireland, a re-admission as ‘caretaker,’ and power to redeem within six months. Out they go once for all, and their furniture is left in the street. There is not a day passes that I do not grant decrees of this kind, and yet we do not hear a murmur on the subject. Under the Bills of Sale Acts it often happens that the whole savings of a life are swallowed up because default is made in paying the last instalment for furniture purchased; but who in this country complains?”

Fact should be met by fact. If, as Mr. Gladstone says, it is a fact that in the past, violence has been used against the Irish, it is equally a fact that the Irish have used violence against the English, and a very barbarous violence, too; but neither the one nor the other fact ought to make any difference to our feeling towards each other to-day. We have to legislate for Ireland as we find it, and the legislation should be, and must be, equally just with the legislation of other parts of the Queen’s dominions. The weak and poor must be protected from the tyranny of lawless agitators who exercise a chronic coercion of an appalling character, so that men who would be honest dare not, men who would be loyal can not, and men who could add to the prosperity of the country are reduced to idlers and criminals.

Ireland needs justice—the justice of deliverance from

the lawless Leagues which oppress the country with a constant terror through their cruel coercion.

REBELLION IN THE EIGHTIES.

IN 1881, according to "United Ireland" of September 24th, a Parnellite convention in Dublin "decreed" that "either the Land Act should be used as a weapon in the war, or it should not be used at all." Mr. Gladstone's Government then proclaimed the League, and imprisoned its leaders. Then followed the "No rent" manifesto, with terrible outrages and murders, upon those who dared to pay their rent in defiance of the "unwritten law" of the lawless League.

As in the case of previous rebellious movements, so now the real object is to accomplish a SEPARATION FROM ENGLAND, and Mr. Parnell plainly said when visiting America in 1880:—

"When we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. . . . And let us not forget that that is the ULTIMATE GOAL at which we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland—or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

To stir up the country for the accomplishment of this object has been the aim of many.

Outrages have been committed to intimidate the people, to prevent them paying rent, so as to make the lives of landlords intolerable.

Some of the advanced spirits have advocated dynamite and murder, and have described as "heroes" the assassins who perpetrated the Phoenix Park murders.

When we contemplate that the Blue Books show that

seventy cruel murders of men and women, with mutilations, burnings, robberies innumerable, and more than 10,000 outrages were committed in ONLY TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS, what does the record amount to for the nine or ten years from 1879, when this murder movement, this tyranny on the part of a self-constituted authority—a lawless gang—first made its power felt!!!

The Irish Crimes Act received the Royal assent on July 19th, 1887. The “Times,” in a leading article on the Crimes Act, said :—

“It is certain that if the Irish Executive had used the powers granted by Parliament in the Crimes Act of 1882 with vigour and courage, the Land League, suppressed by Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster in 1881, with the exulting approval of Mr. Gladstone, would never have been permitted to re-constitute itself as the National League.

“ There is now another opportunity of grappling with the tyranny of the League and of restoring the authority of the law, and if this be let slip it may never be regained. Almost all the time and the energies of Parliament during the present session have been devoted to this task. In order to arm the Government with powers sufficient to cope with the revolutionary organization that has attempted, not unsuccessfully, to set at naught public justice and private rights, Parliament has reluctantly put aside all other business. It would be a deplorable error to make this sacrifice vain by want of courage in the enforcement of what is nicknamed coercion. Any Government which shrinks from coercing a system of ‘anarchical oppression’ is unworthy of the trust reposed in it by the nation, and the touchstone will soon be applied to the present Ministers of the Crown.

“ The provisions of the Crimes Act directed against dangerous associations are, as every honest

and intelligent man knows and feels, in favour of liberty, and not hostile to it. So long as the National League and its branches are allowed to fix the yoke of their tyranny on the necks of the Irish people by intimidation, boycotting, and outrage, and so long as the Plan of Campaign, pronounced to be 'illegal and criminal' by the highest tribunal in Ireland, is permitted to defeat the law of the land, government, in the true sense of the word, does not exist. If anarchy, oppression, and 'public plunder' are to cease, the League and its branches and the Plan of Campaign must be put down, and this we conceive to be the object of the clauses in the Act relating to dangerous associations. It is, therefore, the plain duty of the Government to proclaim those associations wherever they exist and in whatever shape or form they may be found. It would be simply futile and ridiculous to proclaim three or four counties in which disorder has risen to the greatest height, leaving the League to carry on its operations unmolested in the neighbouring districts, until Parliament can be called together, with all the inconveniences that have been pointed out, to sanction a new series of proclamations. The Government must look heedfully to this. They cannot afford to make another mistake in dealing with Ireland. They have obtained ample powers from Parliament for the restoration of order, and they have paid a high price for the concession. If they fail to use those powers promptly, boldly, and vigorously, their policy will end in a disastrous collapse, in which the Unionist cause may be involved. They have had fair and full warning, and, on their own showing, there is no excuse for half-hearted action."



THE 1889 SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

THE long list of atrocities committed in Ireland during the years of "Eighty" have filled every honest loyalist, indeed every manly person, with indignation, and with a desire to suppress them. It might be supposed that all men who love liberty and fair dealing would support every effort made to unearth and expose the system of villainy which has fostered so much lawless oppression and cruelty, and that all true men would rejoice that the Government gave facilities to the Special Commission to obtain any evidence which would tend to expose and so suppress the evils. But not so. The House of Commons, in the early Session of 1889, was the scene of continual strife of a very violent character by the Home Rule faction, in which Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Labouchere, and Mr. John Morley, of whom, at least, better things might have been expected, took a disgraceful part.

Instead of approving the assistance given by the Government to the Special Commission, to arrive at the truth as to the state of Ireland, these gentlemen, together with the Parnellite faction generally, attacked the Government in the style of a low debating club, and actually charged the Government with a foul conspiracy, as if the Government and the "Times" had agreed together, by forgery and fraud, to concoct charges against the Parnellites. But these men could not deceive the country—thoughtful men could easily see through the party clap-trap which brought so much dishonour upon the "Commons," once regarded as "the finest assembly of gentlemen in the world." In order to cover the revelations brought out before the Special Commission the Parnellite party tried to discredit the Government and the "Times."

Such witnesses as Pigott, Coffey, and Molloy were very detrimental to the cause of the "Times"; but, considering the difficulties of the case, the bad characters to be examined and consulted, the violence of opposition, the terror with which the people regarded the Leagues, and the Priests, it is not to be wondered at that some of the witnesses should fail, neither is it to be wondered at that the most should be made by the Parnellites of such failures, but the few failures could not destroy the avalanche of facts successfully dragged to light.

The time of Parliament was wasted by the Parnellites, as it has been for years past, their great object being, by any means to obstruct the procedure of public business, so as to make the Government unpopular, and thus to bring Mr. Gladstone again into power, when they fondly hope a Home Rule Bill will be carried, and the men who have been for many years openly declaring their hatred of English rule and desire for separation, will become the law-makers and rulers of Ireland, to the dismay and terror of the loyal population there.

Sir William Harcourt, on Friday, March 22nd, 1889, repeated in the House, as far as he dared, the shameless inventions he had been delivering to public audiences at Ealing and the Lambeth Baths, in reference to some dishonest action between the Government and the "Times," and moved a reduction of the Attorney-General's salary.

When he sat down, Sir Richard Webster (the Attorney-General) rose, and in a speech marked by great calmness and dignity, administered to Sir William Harcourt such a moral castigation as few men during this century have received. Sir William Harcourt showed how painful the infliction was by his constant disclaimers, excuses, and explanations, but Sir Richard Webster took all his utterances to pieces, and in a merciless analysis so thoroughly

exposed the baseness of the inventions as to carry conviction to the House of Commons that the House rejected Sir William Harcourt's motion by a large majority.

Sir Richard Webster had been most violently attacked by the whole Radical Press, and by all Parnellite public speakers in a way to endeavour to cover him with disgrace in the eyes of the public, because of the incident of the Pigott letters, and, in reference to these attacks, the Attorney-General secured the profound admiration of all impartial men when he said in the House of Commons—

“ I will give the right honourable gentleman opposite this assurance, and the honourable member below the gangway who has something to do with one of these newspapers, that the charges have not occasioned me one single moment's anxiety, one single sleepless night, or any other feeling except pity for the persons who are so capable of prostituting a position of political power for the purpose of bespattering one who offends them, but who was endeavouring, under somewhat difficult and trying circumstances, to do his duty both as a member of the bar and a member of the House of Commons.” (Cheers.)

In reference to the charges affected against Mr. Soames with regard to Pigott, Sir Richard Webster said, in the House of Commons :—

“ I cannot close the observations I have to make to-night on this matter without expressing my utter surprise—I had almost said my contempt, but I will say my surprise—that anybody could make a charge against a man who is not in this House, and cannot answer in this House, such as has been made by the right honourable gentleman against Mr. Soames. (Cheers.) I am not counsel for Mr. Soames; but I do ask those who say they love justice in this country, just to remember the position of Mr. Soames. He is not in this House, and he cannot answer

for himself. Mr. Soames has been four or five times in the box, and he has expressed his willingness to give every information on oath as to the way in which the evidence was obtained, and he did state voluntarily that he would prove the whole story as to his connection with Pigott and Houston, and he submitted himself for cross-examination. An honourable gentleman below the gangway the other night said—we can understand his motive—that he would not believe Mr. Soames upon his oath. That was a specimen of the delicate and refined language to which we have been accustomed in this matter.”

The country could plainly see that the trumped-up charges against the Government, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Soames were for the simple purpose of discrediting the Government, that it might be overthrown.

SOME GENERAL FACTS.

A SOCIETY called the Fenian Brotherhood was established to found an Irish Republic. It raised £80,000 from American Fenians, and was secretly conducted by circles, passwords, and oaths. Some of the ringleaders were arrested and convicted. The head centre, Stephens, escaped to Paris. Fenian outrages occurred in Ireland and also in England, amongst which was the shooting of a policeman at Manchester, and the destruction by gunpowder of one of the walls of Clerkenwell Prison.

The Irish Church was disestablished in 1869.

The first Land Act came into operation in 1870, which gave tenants legal right of compensation for improvements and damages for eviction, except in cases of non-payment of rent.

Of the Irish Church revenues £1,000,000 was taken for encouraging secondary education in Ireland. The Home Rule movement commenced in the few years preceding 1880; its object was separation from England, commonly called a Repeal of the Union, and the Irish members commenced a system of obstructing Parliamentary business.

After the creation of the Leagues, there came into operation the endless atrocities which have disgraced Ireland before the civilized world. Bands of lawless men called Moonlighters and others kept the country in turmoil by constant murders and outrages of the most cruel and appalling kind.

A Bill was passed "For the Better Protection of Life and Property in Ireland," which gave power to arrest on suspicion and imprison those guilty of, or promoting agrarian outrages. The Land Law Bill became an Act in 1881, the effect of which was to allow farmers to sell their "tenant right" in the open market, by establishing a Land Court with power to fix a judicial rent for a term of fifteen years. The Land Court commenced operations in Dublin, and a number of sub-commissioners have since in various parts of Ireland been fixing a judicial rent where tenants have petitioned therefor—the previous rents often having been reduced twenty-five per cent.

In 1881, the Government issued a proclamation suppressing the Land League as an illegal society, and its principal members, Messrs. Parnell, Sexton, and Dillon, were imprisoned at Kilmainham, near Dublin. Many suspects were arrested; and Mr. Michael Davitt, who had been imprisoned and released in connection with the Fenian conspiracy, was arrested and sent to penal servitude in Portland, but subsequently was released.

Dr. H. Brougham Leech thus describes Michael Davitt:—

“Michael Davitt, who was born in 1846, became connected with the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood while quite young, and took a prominent part in the Fenian movement. On the 11th of February, 1867, together with P. J. Sheridan and other celebrities, he accompanied the Fenian contingent from Rochdale to Chester, when the attempt was made by Captain M’Afferty (who subsequently directed the Phoenix Park assassinations) to seize Chester Castle. For the next two or three years he acted as arms-agent and organiser for the I.R.B. In May, 1870, he was arrested and tried on a charge of treason-felony. Having been found guilty, he was sentenced to fifteen years’ penal servitude. In pronouncing the sentence Lord Chief Justice Cockburn declared that a letter which had been put in evidence and proved to be in Davitt’s handwriting, showed that there was some dark and villainous design against the life of some man. ‘There was one thing,’ he said, ‘which he could not help regarding with a feeling of the utmost condemnation and horror, and that was that a-sassination was not considered as a means too desperate or bad to be resorted to when it was found convenient to have recourse to it.’ In 1877, after seven years’ incarceration, Davitt was released on a ticket-of-leave. On this occasion a Reception Committee was formed for the purpose of welcoming him back to active political life, which included, among other names, those of C. S. Parnell, J. G. Biggar, *James Carey*, *Daniel Curley*, and *Joseph Brady*. The two last-mentioned patriots were, as is well known, hanged at Kilmainham in 1883 for the Phoenix Park murders; while Carey, a Town Councillor of Dublin, upon whose evidence they were convicted, suffered on the high seas the penalty to which an informer is always liable at the hands of his victim’s friends. Shortly after his release Davitt sailed for America, and matured there the plan of the operations, which he proceeded to carry out in Ireland in 1879.”

In the next year, 1882, on the 6th of May, was committed, in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, one of the most cowardly and cruel assassinations ever recorded in history. Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, in quietly walking through the park on the evening of Lord Frederick’s arrival from England, were set upon in cold blood, in broad daylight, at seven o’clock in the evening, by a band of ruffians connected with one of the lawless

secret societies, and stabbed to death by repeated strokes. One of the villains, named Carey, turned informer, and the rest were hanged. Carey had just been elected a town councillor, on the recommendation of Mr. William O'Brien, as a candidate "untrammelled with Castle influence." During this year Mr. Parnell founded the notorious Irish National League.

THE "TIMES."

ONE of the most remarkable literary facts of the age has been the production by the editor of the "Times" of leading articles week after week, month after month, year after year on Irish affairs, ever in a new light and yet ever enforcing the same policy that Ireland must be governed with firmness, and that Home Rule, otherwise separation, it is impossible to allow.

By its powerful and persistent advocacy it has encouraged public men to speak much upon the subject, and has influenced a cohesion between the Conservatives and Liberals against the Separatist Radicals. It has spurred on the Government to follow a consistent and persistent action of punishing crime and maintaining the law.

The "Times" published a series of pamphlets entitled "Parnellism and Crime," and sustained an action brought against it by Mr. O'Donnell, which action was debated in the House of Commons with the result that an Act was passed, called the Special Commission Act, 1888 (51 and 52 Vict. ch. 35), to constitute a Special Commission to enquire into the charges and allegations made against certain Members of Parliament and other persons by the "Times" in that action.

BOYCOTTING

Has been thus instanced by the "Times":—

"The cruelty of the social excommunication is inconceivable. Perhaps the worst instances of all are those reported by Mr. Richards, of his own knowledge in Wexford, which is not a disturbed county. It was on his authority that Mr. Goschen related in the House how the local midwife would not help the wife of a boycotted man named Burke in her labour, and how the people refused him the food that might have saved his sick infant's life. Mr. Richards gives another story nearly as bad, but we prefer to take our account of boycotting from the lips of the victims themselves. An anonymous Kerry witness tells how his father was boycotted for purchasing under Lord Ashbourne's Act. His stock was boycotted at the fairs, his grazing was boycotted, his friends were boycotted, his labourers were boycotted. The League fined persons who dared to sell cattle to the witness. Men are 'forced into being members of the League at the point of starvation.' Mr. George Collier, of Dingle, a Roman Catholic farmer, who also manages some small estates, was himself boycotted for refusing to boycott a firm of shopkeepers, and for being on friendly terms with Mr. Hussey. He has to draw his supplies from Cork and even from Liverpool, he has had to drive 32 miles to get his horse shod, he can hire no labour, his domestic servants were warned off by 'the League police.' Mr. Collier has four island farms. They are stocked with several hundred sheep. The League has forbidden the boatmen to serve Mr. Collier. For two years in succession a considerable number of his ewes have died on these islands for want of care. Last year the inhabitants of

another island, 'incited by the neighbouring branch of the League,' took forcible possession of one of Mr. Collier's farms, and held it against him. No wonder that he declares the law to be 'utterly helpless' in his part of the country.

"Eugene McCarthy has taken an evicted farm near Bantry. He is boycotted and under police protection. His cattle have been mutilated and his hay scattered; he cannot get his horses shod or his cattle sold; he cannot send his children to school or to mass, and one of them was set upon and badly beaten in the village solely because he was the son of a 'grabber.' From Wicklow we have the case of Benjamin Horan. His original offence, by his own showing, appears to have been a refusal to join his fellow tenants in subornation of perjury. Thereupon his farm buildings and implements were burned. He was forced to migrate, and he committed the unpardonable sin of taking an evicted farm as his new home. He is boycotted; six policemen protect him; he came before the Commissioners under escort; he cannot get his horses shod or his corn ground except by travelling great distances; his pigs have been put out of a fair fifteen miles off; he can buy only where he is unknown; he has sold nothing in fair or market these two years; he cannot even get a feed for his horses on the road; his family 'was almost in want of food only for a lady that sold us provisions when we could not get them for any money.' Above all he can get no labour. Men will work with him sometimes for a week, but when they go to mass on the Sunday they are warned and do not return. William Kinsella is another farmer in a quiet county. He comes from King's County, and his offences are that he voted for a Conservative Poor Law guardian, that he 'publicly paid his rent' against

orders, and that he 'speaks his mind too plainly.' He was boycotted, could hire no labour, and had to get an 'emergency' threshing-machine. He is a Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic loyalists are looked upon as 'renegades,' and treated with peculiar rigour. He has a police patrol, but has refused further protection. 'I have a thatched house,' he says, 'that was the only thing that annoyed me. If I had a slate house I would not care a fig for them. I have two or three sons.'

"But the most striking case of all is that of two brothers near Shandrum. They bought a farm in 1878, and got into litigation with the vendor. They got judgment from the Recorder of Cork, and this judgment was confirmed on appeal by the Master of the Rolls. The witnesses allege that the League provided funds for the appeal. They lost £200 in costs, but they had their land. Just at this time the Crimes Act lapsed, and thereupon the local Land League Court tried the whole case over again, and reversed the Master of the Rolls. The Court ordered the purchasers to surrender the farm. They were ready to do so on payment of their purchase money. But 'the treasurer of the League told them they would get no compensation, and asked, "How can you expect to do what the Government of England cannot do?"' "What is that?" I said. "To stand up," says he, "in defiance of public opinion and good boycotting." Boycotted accordingly they were. Their land and crops went waste, a valuable horse was poisoned, their cattle went dry, 'we could not go out but at night,' 'we could not get a bit to eat for any money,' men were posted near them in the chapel, and the clothes were torn off their sisters' backs in the chapel yard; their servants were 'banished;' the town rowdies were given drink to jeer them in the streets. Their position was intolerable. One of them at last ap-

peared before the Land League Court and pleaded hard for mercy. 'They said that I should give up the land, that I was in an iron cage, and that they would squeeze it on me.' The Queen's Government gave them no help, and in 1885 they surrendered to the conspiracy, and quitted their farm. 'We lost all our honest earnings,' they said, 'and honest industry in it.' But the Shandrum Court is not done with these men yet. They have committed the high contempt of appearing before the Royal Commission. The League has detected the culprits, and by resolution, duly published in 'United Ireland' of April 2, has condemned these 'upholders of landlordism and crime' for their 'base and cowardly act.'"

A trader, named Coffey, was boycotted at Sligo, as reported in the Dublin article of the "Times," of November 12th, 1888:—

"Coffey was subjected to a system of boycotting. He was threatened; one of his sheep was killed; and the police had to patrol about his house. He claimed compensation from the grand jury and got it. Then the Mayor of Sligo, the chief magistrate of the borough, as owner of a local newspaper, wrote an article justifying the boycotting of Coffey, on account of his 'crime,' and pointed to him as an outcast, who, like Cain, the slayer of his brother, had his hand against every man's, and every man's hand against him, and was an object of scorn and loathing as if some foul contagion possessed him. That article had been published on the 7th of July, after Coffey had been persecuted. It was said that boycotting at the worst was only exclusive dealing, but that was only half the truth; it was worse than a falsehood. Boycotting meant, in reference to the individual, a deprivation of the first rights of civilization, personal liberty, and security of private property; as regarded the community, it prevented

the development of their means of progress, on which the welfare of society depended. It was often worse than that, for its ultimate result was assassination, the maiming of cattle, and all kinds of outrage. In his opinion, it was the greatest offence which could exist in the body politic, and should be put down. No honest and intelligent jury could come to any other conclusion than that the article advocated boycotting, and it was followed by another denouncing by name several persons as land-grabbers."

The lawless tyranny of the Irish Leagues exhibits exactly the spirit of the Antichrist described in Rev. 13, 17: "And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast or the number of his name."

It is noteworthy that Mr. Gladstone actually justifies this tyranny by calling it the right of "exclusive dealing!!!"

The "Speaker's Handbook" states:—

"WHAT IS BOYCOTTING?"

"So much misconception exists in Great Britain on the subject of boycotting, that it is right for the speaker to inform English and Scotch audiences of what boycotting actually is. It means—

"1. Deprivation of all social intercourse. No one will speak to you.

"2. Ruin in your business. No one will buy what you have to sell.

"3. Starvation. No one will give you the necessities of life, even in return for money. You become dependent on the police.

"4. Education denied to your children. The children of a boycotted man are often driven from school.

“ 5. It may besides mean, and often does mean, refusal of coffins to the dead ; and it certainly entails—

“ 6. Mutilation of your cattle.

“ THE INITIATION OF BOYCOTTING.

“ Boycotting in Ireland, *as an institution*, is entirely due to Mr. Parnell. The following words embody his official direction to adopt it as a policy :—

“ ‘ When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted you must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets and the town, you must show him at the shop counter, in the fair, and in the market place, and even in the house of worship—leaving him severely alone by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he were a leper of old : you must show him that that is your detestation of the crime he has committed.’—Ennis, September 18th, 1880.

“ BOYCOTTING STILL THE PARNELLITE POLICY.

“ ‘ I want to tell you here to-day to mark the enemy and shun him. The word used to be in the old days *Agitate, agitate, agitate* : the word in the present day is *Boycott, boycott, boycott*.’—Mr. John O’Connor at Tipperary, October 7th, 1888.

“ REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION UPON BOYCOTTING.

“ The foregoing will be effectively corroborated by the words of the Report of the Cowper Commission :—

“ ‘ We deem it right to call attention to the terrible ordeal that a boycotted person has to undergo, which was by several witnesses graphically described during the progress of our inquiry. The existence of a boycotted person becomes a burden to him, as none in town or

village are allowed—under a similar penalty to themselves—to supply him or his family with the necessaries of life. He is not allowed to dispose of the produce of his farm. Instances have been brought before us in which his attendance at Divine service was prohibited; in which his cattle have been, some killed, some barbarously mutilated; in which all his servants and labourers were obliged to leave him; in which the most ordinary necessaries of life, and even medical comforts, had to be procured from a long distance; in which no one would attend the funeral of, or dig a grave for, a member of a boycotted family; and in which his children have been forced to discontinue attendance at the National School of the district. Had we thought it necessary for the purpose of our inquiry, we could have taken a much larger amount of evidence to prove the existence of severe boycotting in very many districts. We did not, however, think it necessary to examine more than a sufficient number of witnesses to inform ourselves and to illustrate the cruel severity with which the decrees of local self-constituted tribunals are capable of being, and are actually enforced.’ ”

INCENDIARY SPEECHES.

THE following examples of incendiary speeches will convey some idea of the influences which have been at work causing the perpetration of crime. They came out principally in the evidence before the Special Commission.

Mr. Matthew Harris, at a meeting at which Mr. Parnell was present, said :—“ If the tenant farmers of Ireland shot down landlords—as partridges are shot in the month of September—that Mat. Harris never would say one word against them.” He attempted afterwards to qualify it, but Mr. Parnell did not rebuke him. In July, 1880,

Gordon, Harris, Walsh, and Father O'Malley were at a meeting, and in Gordon's speech he said : " The man who takes an evicted farm I will point him as a greater assassin than the man who fires a pistol and shot. If you sweep away landlordism, everything will prosper in this land."

The same Gordon, in the presence of another priest, Father Corbett, said in a speech : " Keep your powder dry, boys, and blow Bourke to blazes sure some fine morning."

In April, 1881, at Carna, Matthew Harris said in a speech :—" We will crush landlordism. It is on its last legs. The Land League will give all assistance. Hold firm ; don't cringe. Mark the man who takes land from which a man is evicted ; let the bad man stand isolated."

The " Times," March 10th, 1882, recorded :—" Byrne, Mr. Justin M'Carthy's immediate subordinate, Mr. T. P. O'Connor's predecessor in an office of dignity and trust, laid bare the pith and marrow of League doctrine in a few trenchant words. ' I am not,' he said, ' fastidious as to the methods by which the cause of liberty may be advanced. (Applause.) I do not say you should alone use dynamite, or the knife, or the rifle, or Parliamentary agitation ; but I hold no Irishman true who won't use all and each method as the opportunity presents itself.' "

In May, 1880, Mr. Brennan said at Cardenstown, Meath :—" France, when she was getting shot of her landlords, did not give them 20 years' compensation. No ; she gave them 20 feet of rope. (Cheers.)"

In the " Irish World " of Oct, 28th, 1882, appeared the following, signed " Transatlantic " :—" Already the cry of vengeance against landlordism has laid low many of the land-robbers. Within three or four years there fell in the ' land war ' on the landlords' side—Lord Leitrim, Lord Mountmorres, Lord Cavendish, Secretary Burke, Mr. Herbert of Kilkenny (Killarney), Mr. Bourke, Loughrea,

his military protector, Blake of Loughrea, his bailiff, Boyde of Kilkenny (Boyd of New Ross?), Wheeler of county Limerick, together with some forty to fifty bailiffs and informers. On the people's side only two have yet been hanged, and not over ten are in penal servitude for terms of five, seven, and fourteen years. These may be amnestied sooner than the land-robbers imagine."

On Sept, 8th, 1883, Finerty in a speech said :—"Honest John Mitchell used to say that he was sorry the Irish people had not shot half enough Irish landlords ; he would go further, and deliberately say that he was ashamed of the Irish people, if they had powder and shot, they had not shot them all. The whole Cabinet, the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the Privy Council, were all guilty of murder, and if any man could have power to place them all beneath a single guillotine, and lop their heads off at once, that man would be justified in the sight of God and man."

Dr. Williams, on introducing Byrne to a meeting, said :—"There is one broad statement which I am prepared to make, and it is this, that it is the duty of the Irish people to kill every English official who comes into their country. I would ask you, are you in earnest? If you want to honour Joe Brady's memory, if you want to imitate his example, you will have to work."

Joe Brady was one of the Phoenix Park assassins, and Byrne's wife was the woman who carried the knives to Ireland for the Phoenix Park murders, according to the "Irish World."

In some of the speeches it was suggested that it was not necessary to shoot men dead, but that they could be shot in the legs, and after this many persons were so shot.

One speaker, at a public meeting, said to the people, "Why do you allow land grabbers to live? Why do you

allow them to exist? The only way I want you to put them from existence is this, don't speak to them, leave their corn and meadows uncut and they will commit suicide without the pills."

It was always perfectly understood that "pills" meant bullets.

P. Gordon said, in a public speech to the people, "Let every man and woman join the Land League. They must remember that the glory of France was due to the noble women of that country. It was a woman that led on the sons of France to liberty."

Readers will call to mind the history of the wretched woman who was enthroned and worshipped as the Goddess of Reason in the French Revolution during the last decade of the last century, when in one way or other 1,027,106 persons were destroyed.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, as reported in the "Dunse Observer," October, 1887, said, "The Government had not only given the Irish a cause for revolution, but undoubtedly in his (the speaker's) mind a just cause for revolution."

The above utterances are just a sample of the kind of speeches made persistently in great numbers since 1879, and made in disturbed districts where their effect would be most telling.

We do not impute any direct connection between any of these speeches and any special crimes, but we give them as examples of the kind of speeches so frequently made about the country. Speeches of this kind could not fail to stir up an ignorant and easily influenced peasantry to acts of violence. Neither the speeches nor the crimes are arranged in the order of dates, and therefore, in this general catalogue, we do not give any direct record of particular crimes, resulting from particular speeches.

Priests of the Roman Catholic Church have been brought before magistrates for inciting people not to pay rents lawfully due to certain landlords.

The "Times" reports that Mr. Davitt said at a public meeting: "I trust that every young man here to-day will have registered in his heart a vow which I made 30 years ago, to bear towards England and England's Government in Ireland all the concentrated hatred of my Irish nature. . . . Men like myself . . . have been preaching to our people for the last six or eight years, "Do not commit any outrage, do not be guilty of any violence, do not break the law.' I say it here to-day and I don't care who takes down my words, I am heartily ashamed of ever having given such advice to the Irish people. . . . Would to God we had the means—the weapons by which freemen in America and elsewhere have struck down tyranny, and we could settle this battle in a way that would reflect honour on our country." . . . Also that Mr. Dillon said, "Their day is nearly at an end, and the day of the Irish people is dawning; the day when all the forces that exist in Ireland, whether they be armed or whether they be unarmed, will be at the command of the representatives of the people of Ireland."

Mr. W. O'Brien said at Bodyke, in reference to evictions as reported in the "Freeman's Journal":—

"I tell you candidly here to-day that although we allowed these policemen to withdraw from this meeting, because they were weak, a mercy which, I am sorry to say, that they have never reciprocated to the people—I tell you, and I wish the Government reporter was here to listen to it, that if our people had power to meet them, man to man and rifle to rifle—(prolonged cheers)—in the open field, I for one would cut short my speechmaking this very moment, and the next speeches that the destroyers

of your homes would hear would be the speeches out of the mouths of your guns." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Dillon, M.P., boasted at Glenbeigh, as reported in the "*Freeman's Journal*,"—"I will show him men who avow that they can pay and refuse to pay because they are in the Plan of Campaign."

The speakers at a public meeting at Glenbeigh ordered the tenants not only not to pay, but to resist eviction, and only allow themselves to be put out at the point of the bayonet, and to take possession when the sheriff left.

Mr. O'Brien, together with Archbishop Walsh, attacked the composition of juries. The influence of Mr. O'Brien's former attacks has been exposed by a correspondent of the "*Times*," who writes:—

"It was in the autumn of 1882, in the course of a brutal tirade against a jury of his countrymen, that Mr. O'Brien called particular attention to one special juror. A day or two later that juror was stabbed almost to death in the streets of Dublin.

On the 4th of May, 1882, the same Mr. O'Brien published his well known and infamous attack upon the officials of Dublin Castle. On the 6th of May two of these officials were brutally murdered.

In the autumn of the same year, this same Mr. O'Brien brought a series of foul and false charges against a judge who had done his duty. In November an attempt was made to murder that judge.

In August, 1881, the journal which then represented the Parnellites wrote with regard to a Dublin jury as follows:—"I dare them to convict. I say dare advisedly. Let my words go forth. Accursed be the jurymen who will dare to find these men (the traversers) guilty of any crime against the people of Ireland." The jury did not dare to convict.

Many trials by jury have broken down in Ireland where they have been composed largely of Roman Catholics, and these being in no way restrained by those in spiritual authority, are encouraged to defeat the ends of justice; thus moonlighters and assassins were acquitted where they ought to have been condemned, the authority of the Government was ridiculed, and the people developing the worst instincts of human nature.

After the Government had found it necessary to pass a Crimes Act, the spirit of lawlessness was evidenced by the meetings held and speeches made at various parts of the country, of which the following are examples:—

The Knocknagoshel branch “joyfully” adopted the following resolution:—

“That should the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of the arbitrary powers contained in the iniquitous Coercion Bill proclaim the National League, we hereby avow our intention in such an event to use every stratagem to continue in unbroken order our branch meetings, and we hereby invest our secretaries with full authority to call us together upon the shortest notice, declaring our readiness to meet at any time night or day, in houses or fields. That we again call upon the members in arrear, now especially, to pay up their subscriptions.”

The Knocknarea branch, at a meeting resolved:—

“That as all Nationalists are advised by the pure-souled Michael Davitt to invent new plans to kill coercion, that we pledge ourselves to hold secret meetings if necessary, and that any person arrested under coercion for political principles, that his family will be better provided for than himself would do; and that we will pay no rent, until he is released.” (“Sligo Champion,” August 20th.)

After the Government had proclaimed the National

League as a dangerous association, a meeting of defiance was held in Dublin, when Mr. Dillon said :—

“The Tory Government say in the Proclamation that the National League is a dangerous Association. I am very proud to hear them say so. We, the Irish Leaders, did our best to make it so. We did our best to make it a dangerous Association, and if we have succeeded in doing so, we have done our duty to the people of Ireland. . . . Now, let me say this, that if there be a man in Ireland base enough—and I do not believe that there is—to turn and back out” (meaning from the plan of campaign) “now that the Coercion Act has been passed, I pledge myself to denounce him from the public platform by name. . . . I think the man will be brave who will play the coward on account of this Coercion Act.”

Mr. O’Brien said :—

“So far as the Proclamation was concerned, if it was necessary to say one word, it would be this, after what they had listened to from John Dillon, all I can say is that I take it for granted there is no Nationalist in Ireland who is worth his salt who will not disobey the Proclamation and resist it, and trample on it every hour in the day.”

At Drogheda, Mr. O’Brien said :—

“Fellow countrymen and brother Gaels,—I only wish we had the power and the weapons to do something more effective than talking.”

A meeting was held to-day in Mallow (December 16th, 1888), when, on the motion of the Rev. Father Coghlan, the following resolution was carried :—

“That we once more declare our unalterable determination never to rest until we have succeeded in liberating our country from the blighting curses of landlordism and alien rule, and we renew our pledges of unchangeable

fidelity to the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell and his colleagues."

The following is an extract from a speech by the Rev. Father Hughes at a meeting of the Monasterevan branch of the National League, of which he was chairman. It is reported in the "*Leinster Leader*" of yesterday. Referring to Moroney's release the rev. gentleman said :—

"But though all's well—that is the defiant cry that runs along the line of battle—we will feel that the strain is very severe, and that now, in the last hour of the struggle that has been going on for seven centuries, Ireland needs the helping hands of all her children. Now that help Ireland does not receive from her Protestant children. (A voice: 'They are only step-children.') Where are the Protestant farmers of this parish? Are they here to-day or this evening? No, they are not; I have just been informed that three or four are present. I am very glad; but taking them in a body I have a right to complain of their base conduct. I say they are contemptible dastards (cheers), and I say they are imbeciles if they hope that, by-and-by when the fight is over and the battle won, their refusal to help shall not be remembered. ('Hear, hear,' and cheers.) Let no man say this is bigotry."

This is not the first time that the Protestant loyalists have been warned of the vengeance they may expect if ever the government of the country is handed over to the persons who are endeavouring by all means to get hold of it.

Sir H. James (reading at the Special Commission):—

"Dec. 12th, 1885.—Rathmore.—The following resolutions were passed unanimously :—'That any person found communicating with a few obnoxious individuals in this locality will be expelled from the league henceforward.'

‘That every person presenting cattle for sale at a fair shall produce his card, and that no buyer purchase from any person without producing same.’ ‘That no individual sell to any dealer without presenting his card, as it is the only way of detecting those employed by the Defence Unionists, and that we call on the other branches to follow this example.’ ‘That we condemn the action of Lord Kenmare in serving with civil bill processes about fifty poor and rack-rented tenants in and around this district, and we pledge ourselves to aid them by every means in our power to face this threat, and that no tenant pay any rent until a substantial reduction be given.’ ”

Sir H. James then read the following leading article from “United Ireland,” September 19th, 1885 :—

“Can we hurt England? In the sense of smashing her Army and Navy, indubitably no. Under present conditions, the day on which England can get us to draw out our forces in battle array and pull a trigger is our last. It is because she knows how impregnably she stands intrenched behind her fortresses, ironclads, and hundred-ton guns that she is so eager for us to come on with our tin pikeheads and blackthorn sticks. And it is because we nourish no illusions upon the subject, but know perfectly well that numbers, discipline, and bullets are overwhelmingly against us, that we decline to end the controversy on the Fifteen Acres, and let Irish disaffection sink helplessly into a bloody grave. We know a trick worth ten of that. We cannot fight England in the open. We can keep her in hot water. We cannot evict our English rulers neck and crop. We can make their rule more insupportable for them even than for us. It may be a more inglorious form of warfare than that which is celebrated to the stirring music of the trumpet and the cannon; but it is no fault of ours if we cannot organize

Waterloos to decide our quarrels. We were nine millions, and England has bled us down to four. Our young men have fewer opportunities of learning the use of firearms than of studying Chinese. A man may very easily lose his life in importing a rifle. He will assuredly lose his liberty if he keeps it anywhere that it won't rot. Taking up arms is one thing; having no arms to take up is quite another, and is our case. . . . The Invincibles were a band of just twenty-seven; yet who cannot recall with a shudder that they murdered two of the principal governors of the country opposite the Lord Lieutenant's windows, attacked jurors and judges in crowded streets, held a great city for months in a state of chattering terror, and were only finally smashed because they failed to remember that refusing to open their lips in the Castle Star Chamber only involved a week's imprisonment?"

The report of a speech by P. J. Gordon, at Ballyhaunis on the 13th April, 1881, was then read by Sir H. James:—

"‘I have been arrested under the Coercion Act, and I hope to hear of ye shooting Hubert Davis, the cross-born bastard. Blow him to hell, the shauneen of a landlord.’ When he arrived at Castlerea he addressed the people assembled on the platform there in the following words:— ‘Why “aren’t” ye shooting down the land thieves? Ye are doing nothing here. See what the Boers did; they sent the English Government word that they would have no land thieves, and ye might do the same if ye only had courage. I will see in the papers one of these days of ye shooting a dozen land thieves. Ye will have to shoot at least two land thieves for every one that is arrested.’”

The next speech to which attention was drawn was delivered at Templemore by Mr. Dillon, M.P., on October 10th, 1880. It contained the following sentences:—

“You must organize every townland. In each town-

land, one or two men ought to go round with a list of the farmers of that townland, and ask each man will he not join the Land League, or will he desert the people? Give every man a chance to stand by his people, and organize in that way the farmers of every townland, and then when a man sets himself against the rules of the League, and takes a farm from which another has been evicted, the way to deal with him is this—('I should shoot him.') No, I would not injure any man, but a way to deal with him is this—do not have any communication with him at all; do not allow your children to mix with his children; do not speak to him, and have no dealings with him; neither buy nor sell with him; show in every way that you can that you regard him as what he is, that he is a traitor to his people and his country, and a friend of the oppressors of the people. Believe me, if you keep up that system for a short time, it will be far more effective than if you shoot him, because no man can be punished for such a deed, and you will find that he will give way before long to the force of public opinion, and will hand back the farm, as many men have already done, to its rightful owner."

Sir H. James then read from a speech delivered by Mr. Boyton, at Killorglin, March 4th, 1881:—

"We have seen plenty of them (landlords and agents) that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night, but meet him in the broad daylight, and if you must blow his brains out, blow it out in the daytime. It will be your duty to punish those people (the landlords) for any misuse of their power. Don't be afraid of the Government or the police, but teach that man (the land-grabber) to be afraid of you."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P., was tried and imprisoned in the early part of 1889, for making public speeches which incited the people to outrages. He refused to wear the prison clothes, and acted in a very wild and extravagant manner, which occasioned his party to make many public statements concerning the way in which he was treated. Amongst others, Mr. John Morley tried to make some cheap political capital out of it, upon which Mr. Hewetson, Surgeon of Her Majesty's Prison, Clonmel, wrote to the "Times," February 23rd, 1889, as follows:—

"As I am in a position to know every detail of the above subject, perhaps a few words may be interesting and enlightening to the public.

"Up to the present I have treated with contemptuous silence the atrocious mendacities of a certain portion of the Press, but now this matter becomes something more than monotonous.

"One who has been Chief Secretary knows, or at least ought to know, that a prominent rule in force in Her Majesty's prisons in that country enacts that all the officials are to discharge their duties with 'firmness and humanity'; the poorest criminal dare not, nor could not, be treated with any approach to cruelty or 'brutality,' as Mr. Morley, at Portsmouth, alleges Mr. O'Brien was. The 'haulings,' 'draggings,' 'faintings,' 'bread and water, potatoes and salt,' enjoyed entirely an imaginary existence.

"Mr. O'Brien while here invariably expressed himself as 'bodily well, though politically sick.' The apartments he occupied were boarded, heated, ventilated, and scrupulously clean. His clothes, flannels, and bed covering were warm, quite new, and fresh from store.

“His food was abundant, and included such articles as white bread, brown bread, potatoes, soup, patent cocoa, and new milk—all of best quality. Mr. O’Brien left this prison in his usual health, expressed regret at leaving, and did so on terms of friendship with all the officials with whom he had come in contact.”

A great deal of persecution resulted to loyal Protestants in Ireland through an effort to enforce them to public acts expressive of sympathy with Mr. O’Brien, thus at Youghal an edict went forth from the National League commanding all shopkeepers to put up their shutters on market days and fair days, and these being the days when the country people came to buy, meant almost ruin to the poorer and smaller kind of shopkeepers, and the Reverend Dr. Jones, the Protestant rector, and the Reverend Caleb Laird, the Wesleyan minister, collected subscriptions for the help of their poorer people.

The Duke of Argyll wrote to the “Times” (February 11th, 1889) in reference to Mr. O’Brien’s extraordinary conduct. “I have read with much surprise the letter of Mr. Atherley Jones, published in your paper of the 6th, claiming exceptional treatment for what he calls ‘political crime,’ and asserting that although in the abstract it may be difficult to define a political offence, yet ‘in the concrete there is no difficulty about classification.’

“It is very easy to test this assertion by a case which, unfortunately, is only too ‘concrete.’ Does Mr. Atherley Jones consider the Phoenix Park assassinations as a ‘political offence’ or not? The motives were unquestionably political. The murderers had no personal grievance against Mr. Burke or Lord Frederick Cavendish. Therefore, according to his letter, this offence ‘was such that contrary opinions may reasonably be held as to its moral nature.’

“This is what we have come to by the Parnellite alliance. It is debauching opinion and confusing common sense among those who are addicted to it.

“Other cases, equally ‘concrete,’ are at hand. The dynamite outrages were all political—so far as the motive was concerned. Are these, too, among the offences respecting which Mr. Atherley Jones and his friends may ‘reasonably hold contrary opinions as to their moral nature’?

“And, if these cases are to be abandoned as cases to which Mr. Jones’s test cannot be applied, is the destruction of life the only form of political crime which he would grant to be unquestionably immoral? Is the robbery of men’s property and conspiracy to force other men to partake in this crime to be considered as reasonably defensible? The Plan of Campaign has been pronounced by all the Judges before whom it has come to be a criminal conspiracy. Political motives do not change its nature any more than they change the nature of assassination. Its immorality as well as its criminality in the eye of the law is so clear that it has induced the head of the Latin Church to step out of the usual caution and reserve of the Vatican on all political matters in order to denounce such a glaring violation of fundamental obligations.

“Governments have but one duty, and that is to repress crime. Into motives they cannot enter. In our country the widest license is allowed in all purely political action, provided that action does not defy and break the law. Those who do break and who defy it ought, at least, to have the manliness not to complain of its prison rules.

“It is quite true that men who have been in the position of gentlemen may feel those rules to be more irksome than men in humbler positions of life. But, on the other hand,

they have acted against greater knowledge, and their defiance of primary obligations has been, in proportion, more immoral."

CONGESTED DISTRICTS.

WE asked the editor of a leading London Evening Radical newspaper what was his remedy for the congested districts, and he replied that he would remove the people from such poor districts to districts where there was plenty of good land less populated. We reminded him that to accomplish this it would be necessary to supply such persons with houses and buildings, live and dead farming stock, seed corn, &c.,—and where would the means come from? He was silent.

The congested district question is a very important one, and must sooner or later be dealt with. Emigration is one remedy. Facilities for work, such as a development of the magnificent fishery possibilities, on the West Coast is another; but the people lack enterprise. As an evidence of it, a fine pier was constructed in the Island of Achill, on the estate of the late Earl of Cavan.

The pier is constructed of concrete and stone, being 145 ft. long by 20 ft. broad; it has a storm-protection wall 10 feet above the pier, built of solid concrete, also stone landing stage, steps, &c. It was built in 1883 and cost about £2000, which was paid by the county, except £500, which was presented to the fund by the late Earl Cavan. Adjoining is an excellent sand shore for beaching boats, and good anchorage outside for a yacht.

The pier, however, has never yet been used, but if the people were stirred up to any reasonable amount of enterprise it might be an assistance to them of very great profit for fishing purposes.

By securing law and order in the country, so that industries may be developed by the introduction of capital, by assisting the tenants to become owners of the soil, by the construction of light railways through the west of Ireland, and especially in the coast districts the country will be greatly benefitted.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

THE Special Commissioners were The Right Honourable Sir J. Hannen, Mr. Justice Day, and Mr. Justice A. L. Smith. The first sitting, except for preliminary applications, was held on October 22nd, 1888, in No. 1 Probate Court of the Royal Courts of Justice.

The Counsel representing the "Times" were the Attorney-General (Sir R. Webster, Q.C.), Sir H. James, Q.C., Mr. Murphy, Q.C., Mr. W. Graham of the English Bar, Mr. John Aitkinson, Q.C., Mr. Ronan of the Irish Bar, and Mr. G. R. Askwith of the English Bar.

Mr. Parnell was represented by Sir C. Russell, Q.C., and Mr. Asquith; Mr. Dillon, Mr. E. Harrington, and other Members of Parliament against whom charges and allegations have been brought, by Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., and Mr. A. Russell, of the English Bar, and Mr. T. Harrington, of the Irish Bar; and the remaining Members of Parliament by Mr. F. Lockwood, Q.C., Mr. Lionel Hart, and Mr. A. O'Connor. Mr. Hammond, solicitor, represented Mr. Chance. Mr. Biggar, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. T. Healy appeared in person.

The following are the particulars of the charges or allegations made by the defendants in the action of "*O'Donnell v. Walter*," delivered pursuant to the order of the Special Commission, dated the 17th day of September, 1888.

The names of the Members of Parliament against whom the charges and allegations are made are set out in the schedule hereto as published by the "Times."

The Members of Parliament mentioned in the schedule were members of the conspiracy and organization hereinafter described, and took part in the work and operations thereof with knowledge of its character, objects, and mode of action.

From and including the year 1879, there have existed societies known as the Irish Land League, the Irish National Land League and Labour and Industrial Union, the Ladies' Land League, the Ladies' Irish Land League and Labour and Industrial Union, the National League and the affiliated societies in Great Britain and America, all forming one connected and continuous organization.

The ultimate object of the organisation was to establish the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. With a view to effect this, one of the immediate objects of the said conspiracy or organization was to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, thereby securing the co-operation of the tenant farmers of Ireland, and at the same time the impoverishment and ultimate expulsion from the country of the Irish landlords, who were styled "the English garrison."

The mode of action was to organize a system of coercion and intimidation in Ireland, which was sustained and enforced by boycotting and the commission of crimes and outrages.

The organization was actively engaged in the following matters:—

1. The promotion of and inciting to the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting, and intimidation.
2. The collection and providing of funds to be used, or which it was known were used, for the promotion of and

the payment of persons engaged in the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting, and intimidation.

3. The payment of persons who assisted in, were affected by, or accidentally, or otherwise injured in the commission of such crimes, outrages, and acts of boycotting and intimidation.

4. Holding meetings and procuring to be made speeches, inciting to the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting, and intimidation. Some of the meetings referred to, which were attended by Members of Parliament, with the approximate dates and place of meeting, are given in the schedule hereto.

5. The publication and dissemination of newspaper and other literature inciting to and approving of sedition and the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting, and intimidation, particularly the "Irish World," the "Chicago Citizen," the "Boston Pilot," the "Freeman's Journal," "United Ireland," the "Irishman," the "Nation," the "Weekly News," "Cork Daily Herald," the "Kerry Sentinel," the "Evening Telegraph," the "Sligo Champion."

6. Advocating resistance to law and the constituted authorities, and impeding the detection and punishment of crime.

7. Making payments to or for persons who were guilty, or supposed to be guilty, of the commission of crimes, outrages, and acts of boycotting and intimidation for their defence, or to enable them to escape from justice, and for the maintenance of such persons and their families.

8. It is charged and alleged that the Members of Parliament mentioned in the schedule approved, and by their acts and conduct lead people to believe that they approved of resistance to the law and the commission of crimes, outrages, and acts of boycotting and intimidation when committed in furtherance of the objects and resolu-

tions of the said societies, and that persons who engaged in the commission of such crimes, outrages, and acts would receive the support and protection of the said societies and of their organization and influence.

The acts and conducts specially referred to were thus set out in the "Times."

9. They attended meetings of the said societies and other meetings at various places and made speeches, and caused and procured speeches to be made, inciting to the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting, and intimidation.

10. They were parties to, and cognizant of, the payment of moneys for the purposes above-mentioned, and as testimonials or rewards to persons who had been convicted, or were notoriously guilty of crimes or outrages, or to their families.

11. With knowledge that crimes, outrages, and acts of boycotting and intimidation had followed the delivery of speeches at the meetings, they expressed no *bonâ fide* disapproval or public condemnation, but, on the contrary, continued to be leading and active members of the said societies and to subscribe to their funds.

12. With such knowledge as aforesaid they continued to be intimately associated with the officers of the same societies—many of whom fled from justice—and with notorious criminals and the agents and instruments of murder and conspiracies, and with the planners and paymasters of outrage, and with the advocates of sedition, violence, and the use of dynamite.

13. They and the said societies, with such knowledge as aforesaid, received large sums of money which were collected in America and elsewhere by criminals and persons who were known to advocate sedition, assassination, the use of dynamite, and the commission of crimes and outrages.

14. When on certain occasions they considered it politic to denounce, and did denounce, certain crimes in public they afterwards made communications to their associates and others with the intention of leading them to believe that such denunciation was not sincere.

The "Times" statements proceed thus:—

The following are persons who are guilty of crime or advocates of treason, sedition, assassination, and violence, with whom it is alleged the said Members of Parliament continued to associate:—

Frank Byrne, who admitted his connection with the Phoenix Park murders, and who was supplied with money by Mr. C. S. Parnell, which enabled him to escape to America.

Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, who, during the years 1881 and 1882, organized and procured the commission of crimes and outrages in various parts of Ireland.

Patrick Ford, the editor of the "Irish World," who remitted large sums of money to the said association, and for the purposes aforesaid.

James Carey, the Phoenix Park informer.

Captain M'Cafferty, implicated in the Phoenix Park murders.

Tynan, who organized the Phoenix Park murders.

J. Mullett, convict.

T. Brennan, who was secretary of the Land League, and paid some of the perpetrators of the Phoenix Park and other murders and outrages.

Edward M'Caffery, convict.

Patrick J. Sheridan, who was an organizer of the Land League, who organized outrages and acts of violence, and was implicated in the Phoenix Park murders.

M. J. Boyton, organizer of the Land League and instigator of crime.

J. W. Nally, convicted of crime.

John Walsh, of Middlesborough, organizer of the Invincible Conspiracy in Ireland.

Thos. F. Bourke, who was convicted of high treason on the 24th of April, 1866.

James Stephens, the chief of the Fenian Organization.

J. J. Breslin, Hospital Superintendent of Richmond Gaol, a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, who aided Stephens' escape.

Hamilton Williams, the partner of Gallagher, the convicted dynamitard, and himself a dynamitard.

Alexander Sullivan, a member of the Clan-na-Gael.

Transatlantic (Mooney).

Augustine Ford.

Ellen Ford.

Maria Doherty.

Father Eugene Sheehy.

Dr. Wm. Carrol.

P. A. Collins.

C. O'M. Condon, sentenced to death for the murder of Sergeant Brett.

John Devoy, convicted of Fenianism, and a trustee of the Skirmishing Fund raised by the "Irish World."

O'Brien, M'Carthy, and Chambers, convicted Fenians.

John Finerty, dynamitard.

John Daly, dynamitard.

General Millen, dynamitard.

W. F. Mackay-Lomasney, a convicted Fenian.

Stephen Joseph Meaney, convicted Fenian.

James Redpath, advocate of crime.

Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa.

John O'Leary, convicted of Fenianism.

P. J. Gordon, Francis Tully, Father Egan, Father Coen, John Roche, of Woodford, P. N. Fitzgerald, Laurence Egan, J. Riordan, J. Connell, Timothy Horan, Jeremiah Riordan, J. Dowling, Patrick Nally, M. M. O'Sullivan, M. J. Kelly, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Maurice Murphy, Martin Egan, J. M. Wall, A. M. Forrester, J. P. Quinn, W. F. Moloney, Pearson Reddington, members of the Land League and implicated in crime.

Anna Parnell, H. Reynolds, H. Lynch, Mrs. Moloney, Clara Stritch, Mrs. Moore, members of the Ladies' Land League who paid for the commission of crime.

Names of Members of Parliament against whom it is proposed to give evidence of Charges and Allegations:—

Thomas Sexton
Joseph Gillis Biggar
Joseph Richard Cox
Jeremiah Jordan
James Christopher Flynn
William O'Brien
Dr. Charles K. D. Tanner
William J. Lane
James Gilhooly
Joseph E. Kenny
John Hooper
Charles Stewart Parnell
Maurice Healy
James Edward O'Doherty
Patrick O'Hea
Arthur O'Connor
Michael McCartan

John J. Clancy
Sir G. H. Grattan Esmonde,
Bt.
Timothy D. Sullivan
Timothy Harrington
William H. K. Redmond
Henry Campbell
Patrick J. Foley
Matthew Harris
David Sheehy
John Stack
Edward Harrington
Denis Kilbride
Jeremiah D. Sheehan
James Leahy
Patrick A. Chance
Thomas Quinn

Dr. Joseph Francis Fox
 Michael Conway
 Luke Patrick Hayden
 William Abraham
 John Finucane
 Francis A. O'Keefe
 Justin McCarthy
 Timothy M. Healy
 Joseph Nolan
 Thomas P. Gill
 Daniel Crilly
 John Deasy
 John Dillon
 James F. O'Brien
 Patrick O'Brien
 Richard Lalor

James J. O'Kelly
 Andrew Commins, LL.D.
 Edmund Leamy
 P. J. O'Brien
 Thomas Mayne
 John O'Connor
 Matthew J. Kenny
 Jasper D. Pyne
 Patrick Joseph Power
 James Tinte
 Donal Sullivan
 Thomas Joseph Condon
 John E. Redmond
 John Barry
 Garrett Michael Byrne
 Thomas P. O'Connor

The Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, Q.C., opened by a speech which was an exhaustive abstract of the evidence he intended to produce, but we can only find space for a few sentences—

“I am going to show, in a large number of instances, the, practically speaking, quiet state of things prior to the delivery of these speeches. I shall show your Lordships, by overwhelming testimony, that concurrently with the delivery of the speeches, and following directly thereon, outrages increased both in number and violence, the police force being required enormously to be increased, and, in fact, the ordinary relations between the authorities and those who lived in the parts named were absolutely disturbed and completely disrupted. Further, I shall show that there were practised on the people who had offended against the decrees of the League, who had not carried out what was supposed to be the law of the League, punishments of the most cruel, vindictive, and disgraceful

character. I mentioned to your Lordships before the adjournment that one of the main tenets of the Land League was that no vacated land must be taken possession of without the consent of the Land League. . . . The money in America was, as I have already indicated, collected to a large extent through papers—through the agency of men who advocated the most extreme measures, who advocated the use of dynamite, and the most violent steps for the removal of any obnoxious person. That was the one element which was necessary to combine with the party who did not sympathize altogether, or to any great extent, with extreme measures. . . . Then, my Lords, came the question of how this organization or conspiracy was to be rendered effective, and it will be proved—I do not yet know whether it will be disputed—that one of the principles that was advocated by the Land League was this—that no evicted land should be occupied, and that anybody who took possession of a farm which should become vacant by eviction, or who took possession of another man's land, should be treated as being one of the worst of criminals, should be subjected to treatment such as I shall have to describe when I refer to the speeches themselves, and should, if necessary, be removed from the face of the earth. . . . The duty of those who carried on those Land League branches was that they were to carry out the decrees of the Land League in the way I have described—by making it impossible for anybody to take an evicted farm, and by making it impossible for a landlord to obtain any return from an evicted farm—the result being that the American section were informed and led to believe that if the money they were subscribing was used for the purposes to which I have referred—that is, to spread this wholesale and terrible intimidation among those who occupied the land—the most fatal blow

would be struck at the landlord garrison, who were supposed to be the English garrison in Ireland. . . . Your Lordships will find, when I come to work this out by evidence, that, unless the organization was prepared to go the length of saying, 'You occupy that land on peril of your life,' it would have ceased to be an effective organization, and I shall show that these gentlemen who spoke, and their agents who, with their knowledge, were advocating the steps to which I have referred, did practically indicate to their hearers that they were not to allow any person to be so base, such a brute, such a criminal, such a loathsome object as to remain in possession or take possession of an evicted farm; and those individuals who thought fit to take possession of an evicted farm were subjected to grievous outrages, and were, not infrequently, murdered. The actual date at which we suggest this organization came into existence was at the end of the year 1879. And who were the founders of the Land League? Your Lordships will find that the president was Mr. Parnell; the secretaries were Mr. Kettle, Mr. Davitt, and a man named Brennan; the treasurers were Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Sullivan, and Mr. Patrick Egan. Your Lordships will probably know, from the enumeration of the names, that those are men whose names recur frequently in the pages of 'Parnellism and Crime.' I shall have to say a great deal as to what has become of these men, where they are now, and where they have been since certain material dates, but Brennan, Egan, and some others practically have not been in this country since a date in 1883, to which I shall call attention. Now, my Lords, these leaders of the Land League employed and engaged organizers to go through the length and breadth of Ireland, and I shall mention to your Lordships the names of some organizers who were employed by the Land League, and

who, I shall ask your Lordships to come to the conclusion, were without doubt paid by the Land League, and who had no other visible means of existence; some of whom abandoned other occupations for the purpose of becoming Land League organizers and agitators. . . . The fact is that the Irish nation was constantly spoken of as being at war with the English nation—a war being carried on against the tenants who would not carry out the behests of the Land League—a war in which the landlords who were murdered were treated as victims in what were spoken of as the victories obtained by the Irish over the English nation. . . . P. J. Gordon said:—‘If you take the bayonet and sword I am with you. If 30,000 men would join and strike one deadly blow you will be asked to do so. The English Government is guilty of murder and robbery. Organize, morn, noon, and night. Hold a firm grip of your homesteads. Keep the harvest. Form secret societies.’ What are these secret societies to be formed for—against whom are these speeches directed? The more these people imagined they were suffering from wrongs, the greater, I submit, was the wickedness of those who endeavoured to stir them up to acts such as those indicated in the speeches.”

CRIMES AND ATROCITIES.

BOYCOTTINGS AND INTIMIDATIONS.

A REIGN OF TERROR.

THE following records are taken mostly from the evidence given before the Special Commission, but some of them are from the general reports in the “Times” and other newspapers:—

A man named Murty Hynes had taken a farm from which a former tenant was evicted, whereupon he was severely boycotted under terrible denunciations, and feeling his life to be in danger he obeyed the dictates of the League and left the farm, which was then taken by Peter Dempsey, who was shot dead in broad daylight, on his way to chapel. A bog ranger was also shot dead. Shortly after, a constable was shot dead. Weston House was blown up with dynamite. Corporal Wallace was shot at and killed. This murder was committed as the result of violent speeches. Mr. A. Herbert was pointed to by name at the Land League meetings, and a few months afterward he was murdered.

The Land League and the National League were practically the same.

Terror reigned throughout parts of the country, and the people feared for their lives to disobey the League.

Mr. M'Candy was attacked by an armed party, and he and his sister and brother were wounded with gun shots, so that one of his arms had to be amputated.

Timothy Conolly's house was entered, he was shot in the arms and legs, and his wife was shot in the head and thigh, and his daughter was wounded. His only offence was that he paid his rent like an honest man.

John Callarty was shot at and so wounded that his leg had to be cut off, and his only offence was that he had pointed out some land to the officers of the law.

A bailiff named Kerry was shot at and wounded in the leg, simply because he worked for an unpopular landlord.

Walsh, a caretaker of an evicted farm, was shot at and injured.

A man named Feerick was shot in the back, arms, right thigh, right hip, and left eye, and was left on the road for

dead, no one assisting him. Subsequently he was removed to the hospital and died.

Patrick Kirwan was "carded" because he had charge of a crop on an evicted farm. Carding is dragging a piece of wood with nails on it down a man's face and naked body.

Jeremiah Buckley, because he had paid his rent, had his house entered by six armed disguised men who pulled him out of bed, beat him with furze bushes, and cut off a piece of his right ear with a pair of scissors and took it away.

Patrick Leary was shot and so severely wounded that he died, because it was thought he had watched to know who the assassins were when they had previously been to his Father's house.

In the same month Peter Kelleher was shot, a bullet passing through his right thigh, because they thought he was going to take a farm.

In the same month Michael Fenton, who was suspected of having paid his rent, was fired at in his house through the window.

John Sheehan was fired at because he had taken some land.

Several houses were fired into because it was suspected that the tenants had paid their rents.

A Land League meeting was held near a Mr. Studdert's house, and he was denounced by several of the speakers, a priest named Ryan calling him an unclean beast; a landlord who evicted a tenant was called a murderer; the effect was that every one who had anything to do with Mr. Studdert was boycotted.

A Mr. Spaight was fired upon in his house and narrowly escaped, the reason being that he had dealt with a man who was under the ban of the League.

In the same month an attempt was made to blow up

Littleton's house because he had taken a surrendered farm. Michael Maroney was shot dead before his wife and children because he had paid rent. M'Mahon was shot dead in an outhouse.

A man named Beamish had his crops burnt, his cattle killed, his fences and walls broken down and himself stoned and then shot, from the effects of which he died.

A man named Cremin and his wife were fired upon in their house, and he was afterwards stoned on his way to chapel, because he occupied some land from which a person had been evicted.

Two girls named Murphy were attacked in their house, their hair cut off and tar poured on their heads, because they were suspected of speaking to a policeman.

A man named Byers received a charge of shot in the loins from which he died two days after.

Moonlighters entered the house of an old man named Rae and cut off one of his ears, from the effects of which he died.

John Conway, of Kilgulbin, cut some turf and was shot in the right knee, and wounded as he was, he went to the Land League and asked forgiveness, promising not to offend again.

A man named Murphy was pulled out of bed and kicked and "carded," i.e., a wooden board with nails drawn down the flesh of his face and body.

A bog ranger named Connors was murdered.

A man named Finlay was boycotted and then shot dead, and the neighbours jeered and laughed at his wife, when in her agony she was wringing her hands in grief. The poor woman went into the street and knelt down and said, "The curse of God rest upon Father Egan for being the cause of my husband's murder."

Serjeant Linton was murdered.

A heifer of the Lamberts was wounded by having its shoulder smashed with some blunt instrument like a hammer, and Reilly's donkey had its leg horribly cut about because he had paid his rent. John Kyne had his donkey set fire to, and it was burnt to a horrible mass.

A valuable Spanish ass belonging to Mr. M'Cowan, J.P., of Tralee, was saturated with paraffin and set on fire and horribly burned.

Tenants in various counties have had their homes and cattle burnt, also their cattle horribly mutilated so that the poor dumb creatures have had to be killed to put them out of misery. Tenants and landlords have been intimidated by public notices posted up and by private letters addressed to them, bearing a device of coffin and cross bones, threatening to take their lives, and every device which the instincts of assassins could adopt, have been resorted to to defy the law, to stir up the passions of the populace, and to promote a revolution, to the end that Ireland might be separated entirely from England.

John Joseph Huddy, bailiff to Lord Ardilaun, and John Huddy, his son, were brutally beaten to death by sticks.

Mr. Mahon's house was blown up. Mr. Morrissey's house was burnt, and the bailiff of Sir William Mahon was shot.

Moonlighters fired shots through the door and window of Matthew Lemard's house, and threatened to burn it down if he did not let them in. They then brought a coffin and threatened him for telling his master something. A man named Connair also had his house shot into, and then burnt to the ground, because he had paid his rent, and a neighbour of his named Murphy also had his house burnt down.

Moonlighters entered the house of a man named Lyden, took him out of bed from the side of his wife, and brutally

murdered him. They then shot his son, who died a month after. A man named Walsh was hanged for this murder, and the agitators expressed great sympathy with Walsh's mother, and raised a considerable sum of money for her. Another of the Walsh's was transported for being one of a party who murdered Sergeant Kavanagh.

Michael Joyce, of Oranmore, had 16 sheep and 6 head of cattle mutilated and killed.

Mrs. Caroline Blake, of Ryndvale, Connemara, whose family had lived in the county for 200 years, and who was described as a mother to her tenants, who came to her in all their troubles, and always found in her a true friend, and one always ready to help them. The agitators visited her neighbourhood and the tenants feared to pay their rents. They asked her if she would provide for their families if they paid, for they would be murdered. Some visited her at night and paid. A little boy was sent by one with the money for the rent sewn in his sleeve. One of her tenants, Peter Flaherty, had his hay burnt because he paid his rent, and his sheep driven away and drowned. Others had more than 100 sheep thrown into the sea and drowned; another had a bullock cut with a hatchet; another, named King, had a bullock driven into the sea and was drowned. Mrs. Blake had 50 sheep, 16 head of cattle, and 9 horses driven away, and were never recovered. This lady who was a kind and beloved landlady to her tenants, was described by one of the agitators as a "she devil." After the "no rent" manifesto had been issued, the people feared for their lives to work for Mrs. Blake; hundreds of her fowls were poisoned, bullocks were ripped up, and her donkey had its ears cut off.

Mr. A. E. Honan, of Whitegate, Galway, postmaster, and general country merchant, was boycotted, had his corn thrown about the fields, coping torn from his wall,

his horse houghed, so that it had to be killed, windows of his house broken with stones, wheels of a cart taken off, and cart thrown into eight feet of water.

Mr. John Henry Blake, of Loughrea, was driving along the road with his wife and a man-servant named Ruane. Mr. Blake and Ruane were shot dead, and Mrs. Blake was wounded by a shot.

Mrs. Lyden, who kept a hotel at Kilvalla, Galway, had her house marked B.C., which meant boycotted, and people were threatened that if they dealt with her they would meet the fate of Carey.

Patrick Kennedy was boycotted, and had his cattle and sheep driven off his farm. He received threatening letters.

A man named Coyne was visited by moonlighters, was pulled out of bed, dragged to the kitchen, severely beaten, and greatly kicked, and shots were fired through the roof of his house, to intimidate him against supporting the law by giving evidence against Walsh who murdered Lyden.

John Forhan was shot dead when returning in 1888 from Tralee hiring fair with his son and two servants.

Jeremiah Lynch was shot dead. He was reputed as "a well conducted, industrious man," and was murdered because he worked for a man who had taken an evicted farm.

Mr. Lattey had his house fired into by moonlighters, the bullets going through the front door.

Richard Donohoe was violently knocked about for continuing to work faithfully for his master, Mr. Lewis, against the wishes of the League.

A tenant farmer named O'Brien had his windows broken, and his house fired into because he was suspected of having paid his rent.

Patrick Keaveney, of Escragh, Galway, had his cattle driven away for taking a farm, and other people put their

cattle into his meadow-land from June 23rd to July 23rd, and thus robbed him of his crop.

Lord Mountmorres was cruelly murdered by several gun-shot wounds—one in the chest, one in the stomach, two in the throat, one in the forehead, and one just above the right eyebrow. He expressed himself as opposed to the Land League. While he was lying dead a Land League meeting was held, and a speaker said—"He is gone now, we have no more to say to him; none of you would care to be where he is at present." Some of the people groaned, and some actually joined hands and danced round his blood in the road where he was murdered.

John Bermingham, of Kinvarrd, had his house fired into, his walls broken down, the legs of his sheep broken, the tail cut off one of his cows, and when he left his horse and cart in the road the traces were cut.

Owen Morgan, who worked for Mr. Bermingham, had, with his family, to go to bed without supper for nine nights through boycotting.

Pat Gannon had his house entered, and was shot in the knee for paying his rent.

John Conway's house was entered by armed men, who wore masks and fired at him, wounding him in the leg, because he had cut some turf.

Pat Sullivan's house was entered by armed men, who fired eight shots at him, four of which struck him.

Giles Raie's house was entered by disguised men while he and his family were at supper. They blindfolded his wife, and then four of them held him, and cut off his right ear. He was a process-server.

Thomas Clifford was visited by moonlighters and shot; four bullets passed through his thigh, and one lodged in his back. This was because he was taking care of one of Mr. Blennerhassett's farms at Tralee. The next man

appointed to this charge, named Cahill, was shot dead ; four bullet wounds were found on him.

Edward Herbert, a publican, had his business ruined by being boycotted, and was shot at several times, six bullet-holes being in his coat ; he was wounded in the right arm.

Mr. J. Hegarty, J.P., had been subjected to severe boycotting and intimidation ; he had been twice fired at, and on one occasion seriously wounded.

William Davis, a district inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who was stationed at Castleisland from December 14th, 1880, to May 15th, 1887, was examined by Sir H. James at the Special Commission.

Just read from the Outrage-book the references to such outrages in that period as were not deposed to by District Inspector Huggins.—Among the outrages committed or reported during that period were—a threatening notice to a man named Pegler, threatening him with death if he paid his rent ; throwing down the coping of the wall of Timothy Horan's farm because he had paid his rent ; killing a horse because the owner conveyed the police ; and forcibly levying a contribution of £3 towards the League funds from an old woman named Johana Reahy. A man was threatened with a visit from "Captain Moonlight" if he allowed his children to continue attending a certain boycotted school. William Lane was threatened with death if he did not allow a Land League hut to be erected upon his land. Patrick O'Brien was threatened with death if he continued to supply the police with provisions, and labourers working for boycotted persons were threatened. Those who conversed with Tim Connor were threatened with death, and a similar threat was held out to those who either paid their rent or went into the Land Court. Tim Connor's house was afterwards attacked and fired into. A threatening

notice was served offering £300 reward for information respecting persons who paid their rent, and £500 for shooting a bailiff. The house of John Culloty was visited, and he was threatened and intimidated. This is the man who was afterwards shot. He was a rent warner on Miss Bustead's estate. Threatening notices were also issued against persons who did not vote for the Land League candidates for election to the Board of Guardians. Thirteen similar notices were served. On March 30th, 1882, came the murder of Mr. Herbert. He had previously received a threatening notice. A reward of £15 was offered for information with regard to persons supplying the police with provisions, and a threatening notice was served, threatening any person who had any conversation with a landgrabber that they would be shot. On April 2nd notices were served threatening any of the tenants on Mr. Drummond's estate with death if they paid their rent. There are also a number of cases of firing into dwelling-houses and visits of armed parties at night. On April 6th, 1882, a dwelling-house was maliciously burnt. On the 9th of April there was an alleged malicious burning, on the 16th there was a case of intimidation, and on the 17th a firing at the person. On other dates in the month of April there were various threatening letters and notices. One threat given to Daniel Connor was in consequence of his having come to terms with his landlord without the other tenants. On the 28th of April Mrs. Sheehan was threatened if she did not take her daughter from where she was at service, as her employer had settled with his landlord. On May 1st, 1882, a man was threatened with a visit from "Captain Moonlight" if he did not remove his cattle from the farm where they were grazing. On May 3rd the Raymond tenants were threatened if they paid their rents without 30 per cent. reduction. Numbers of

threatening notices were received in April, May, June and July. On May 14th, 28th, and 29th cases of malicious burning occurred. On June 2nd, there was a case of firing into a dwelling-house. Many of the threatening letters received were to prevent tenants paying rent and to prevent dealings with boycotted persons. On July 12th Norah Duggan received a notice threatening her with death if she did not leave the service of the police, and she left in consequence. On August 13th, 1882, Dennis Bradley was threatened with death if he did not leave Mr. Meredith's employment. On the 26th a man was threatened if he entertained bailiffs. On August 27th Thomas Babington was threatened with death if he did not take his cow off a farm from which the tenant had been evicted; his son was to suffer the like fate if he continued to work a mowing machine. Similar threats were made on various dates in September. On September 14th a man named Costello was threatened with death unless he gave up an evicted farm. On October 3rd Thomas Brown was shot. Up to that time the outrages had been principally threatening notices.

Was there any difference in the manner of their giving you information before 1880?—Yes. After that year people were afraid to give any information, and even although pressed said they did not know the persons who had visited their houses.

John Forhan was murdered while returning from Tralee hiring fair with some servants he had engaged.

Jeremiah Lynch was shot dead at Kilbarry. There was not the slightest appearance of sympathy for the murdered man in the town. He was a herd, employed on an evicted farm, and was a well-conducted, industrious man.

One Sunday eight men with blackened faces entered the house of Cornelius Murphy, at Cools, which lies at the

base of the Mangerton mountain, about five miles from Killarney. Murphy, his wife, three sons and four daughters were sitting round the kitchen fire. The gang demanded Murphy's revolver, which was given up without protest, as well as a lot of ammunition. These ruffians then shook hands with Murphy and his wife, and told them not to be alarmed, but one of the party turned round as they were leaving and asked Murphy whether he was still minding the rivers, and without waiting for a reply, he raised his gun and shot him in the right ankle, almost shattering the foot from the leg, and he bled to death in agony an hour or so later.

Are not these cold-blooded atrocities awful to contemplate? Can Englishmen read such accounts unmoved? It seems incredible that those of our public men and those editors of our newspapers who are encouraging the belief that by lawless agitations Home Rule will be granted, pass over absolutely without any comment such inhuman cruelties.

A few days before this, Mr. Rice Henn, of Ennis, had sat down to dinner with his wife, his son, Mr. Johnstone, an engineer of the Fergus Reclamation Works, and Mr. Cary, an officer in the Royal Irish Constabulary, when it was discovered that a dynamite bomb had been placed on the dining room window ledge, and the burning fuse would in another few minutes have exploded the matter and killed all the household. A public meeting of the district passed a resolution of sympathy with Mr. Henn, and acknowledged that he was at all times "kindly and considerate to his tenants."

The method of conducting the work of the conspiracy is illustrated by the following examination of a man by the Special Commission who was formerly a moonlighter. The Mrs. Walsh, at whose house outrages were planned was

the mother of the murderer of Lyden, and the woman for whom the League expressed such practical sympathy as to collect money to present to her.

Tell us what occurred with reference to Mr. Graham's tenants?—I was one of his tenants myself. Ruane said that the tenants would ruin the country by paying rent, and I replied that Mr. Graham and his tenants were on good terms, that he had given good reductions, and that we were all satisfied. It was then said that Mr. Graham or somebody belonging to him should be shot.

Was anything more done that night?—No. Our party gave the tenants notice not to pay any more. I went myself and posted notices on two tenants' doors.

What was the substance of the notice?—That no rent must be paid, and that any man who should pay would be found out and shot. Other notices were posted by others on other doors.

After that did the tenants pay?—They paid by stealth, not openly.

Were proceedings taken?—No, the tenants paid on the sly.

Do you remember after that having a conversation with Ruane about a Mr. Joseph M'Donald?—Yes, I received a message telling me to be at Letterfrack at four o'clock. I met Pat Ruane and five or six others at a place near Letterfrack where three roads meet. Ruane called me aside and said, "I am told that Mr. M'Donald is going to dine this evening with Mr. Graham, and I want you to find out at what time."

Did he say what Mr. M'Donald had done?—He did not. Mr. M'Donald was Mr. Graham's agent.

Did he state why he wanted to ascertain whether Mr. M'Donald was to dine with Mr. Graham that night?—Yes, he wanted to know, because Mr. M'Donald was to

be shot, adding that anybody who would shoot him would be well paid for the work.

Did you go to Mr. Graham's?—I did. I asked the butler, who was a great friend of mine, whether Mr. M'Donald was going to dine that night, and he told me that Mr. M'Donald would be there. Then I went back and told Ruane that Mr. M'Donald would not be there, and that Mr. Graham was going to dine at Mr. Brown's.

That was not true?—No.

Why did you say it?—Because I knew the gentleman, and did not want to have a hand in it.

According to the rules of the Fenian Society, are you obliged to do what you are ordered?—Certainly; if you do not you will be shot if you are found out.

Was anything done to Mr. M'Donald?—No, except that a great number of his sheep were taken.

What was done with the sheep?—They were taken to Mrs. Walsh's farm at Letterfrack. We wanted to boycott Mr. M'Donald out of his farm. He had succeeded to it, and we determined to boycott him. That was discussed at a meeting held at Mrs. Walsh's house. We resolved to boycott him, and we determined to take his sheep. They were taken at intervals, five or six at a time, to Mrs. Walsh's. Both her sons were alive at this time.

A striking instance of the manner in which farmers are terrorised into obeying the behests of the League and obliged to abandon their liberty and rights is thus shown. A farm containing 47 acres, held at the yearly rent of £40, and situated close to the Ponsonby estate, near Youghal, was disposed of by public auction by the sheriff under an execution. The principal bidders were two tenants on the Ponsonby estate, who with their fellows, have adopted the Plan of Campaign, and maintained it for the past two years and a half. One of

them was declared purchaser at £225. Both were in daily expectation of being evicted for non-payment of rent, and were naturally anxious to obtain possession of a farm upon which they might enter when disturbed from the Campaigned estate. The purchaser, has, however, been since got at by the leaders of the Campaign conspiracy, and he has been obliged to forego his purchase, and to suffer the loss of a substantial deposit paid upon being declared purchaser.

John Culloty's house at Ballaghautouragh was entered by disguised men as he was sitting in his room with his eight children around him. He was called out, and shot in the leg. Then a second shot was fired which shattered the bone.

Daniel Leahy, a tenant on Lord Kenmare's estate, aged 67 years, was murdered. He and his wife were in bed, and at 12 o'clock at night a man entered his house and asked if he had paid his rent. Other men entered the house, and he was pulled to the kitchen and made to kneel down. His wife knelt by him and put her arms round his neck, and offered to give the men anything to spare her husband's life. She was violently dragged away and thrown down twice. The little daughter called out from her bed for the men not to kill her father, and the men threatened to kill her if she did not hold her tongue. The monsters then murdered this poor man as he was kneeling, by shooting and stabbing him. He was murdered for taking some grazing.

Martin Costelloe, of Beragh, was shot at, and being in fear of being barbarously murdered, committed suicide.

Denis M'Carthy, a tenant of Lord Kenmare's, was thrown down and shot in the hip.

Kate McCarthy had a shot fired over her head.

A man named Hickey, living near Castleisland, was

ordered in a public road to stand still by some men, who then shot him, seriously wounding him, from the effect of which he died a lingering death. His wife was with him when he was shot, and the ruffians asked, Would he grab land any more?

William Williams, a tenant of Mr. Orpen's, had his house entered at night and was shot at. This notice was posted up: "Take notice that any one who will shoot Orpen the Orange bastard and his emergency bailiff, William Williams, will receive the reward of £500 the moment the deed is done." Similar notices further appeared.

Daniel Dowling, of Castleisland, had his house entered at night when he was in bed; he had paid his rent regularly and was made to get up, go outside the house, and commanded to keep his eyes fixed on the ground, and he was then shot in the thigh.

William Prenderville, of Kilenshman, was visited at night by a number of men who ordered him out of bed, commanded him to go into the yard, then paraded round him.

Mr. Curtin, a tenant of Lord Kenmare's, was barbarously murdered by moonlighters, who entered the house at night, because he had paid his rent. The family then were most inhumanly treated: they were severely boycotted, being deprived of the necessities of life, were hooted and stoned in walking along the road, and their pew at the Catholic chapel was broken up. A man named Sullivan was also shot at the same time and place.

Michael Casey's house was entered; he was called out of bed, taken outside the house, tied to a cart, had his whiskers cut off, and an unlawful oath administered to him that he should give up his holding.

The houses of Timothy Keane and Edward Brown, of

Mullen, were visited by an armed party at night, and thirteen other houses in the same neighbourhood were entered, shots fired, and arms carried away. The house of James Black, an old man of 70 years, was entered: Black was beaten and his gun taken away. Another house was entered, shots fired, and money and a gold watch and gun taken away. The houses of Powell and Quinlan were visited by an armed, disguised party, and a gun carried away.

An armed party entered at night the house of Michael Dennehy, who was bailiff to Mr. Henry Herbert, of Muckross. A part of his ears was cut off, and his wife carried the dismembered portions, the next day, to the police barracks to report the outrage.

On the night of a Land League meeting at Farranfore the houses of three farmers were visited by an armed and disguised party, who made them swear not to pay rent. Various other houses were entered about this time, and John M'Auliffe was shot in the arm, which had to be amputated.

Peter Brean, of Loughmore, Kerry, was attacked in his own house at night by five or six men because he had taken some grazing for a heifer on an evicted farm. One of the men called to another as "No. 21," and commanded him to shoot, and Brean was shot in the thigh. It appears that these moonlighters are known by numbers, to prevent discovery of names.

James Fitzmaurice, of Ahabeg, a most respectable farmer, whose family for hundreds of years had occupied land in the district, was cruelly murdered while driving along the road, and for which murder Daniel Hayes and Daniel Moriarty were hanged. Because the murderers were brought to justice, the family was subjected to outrages, such as the people leaving the Catholic chapel when they entered it, etc.

On Lord Kenmare's estate a tenant, named Michael Cullinane, had his ears slit open for taking a farm. Another tenant, named Daly, had a piece of his ear clipped off. John Keef, "a most respectable old man," paid his rent and was shot, having the calves of his legs blown away. Mrs. Grapey was attacked for paying her rent. The Cronins of Maughantoorig, were shot in the legs. Dennis M'Carthy was fired at. A tenant, named Scannel, had an ear of his horse cut. Cornelius Leary, of Reansup, was shot in the leg by moonlighters. Murty Finane was shot in the back as he was going to mass. Daniel Donoghue was shot in the leg for buying the leasehold interest in a farm from a man named Barry. Many letters were written by tenants on this estate, showing the terror of the people, preventing them paying rent.

John Downey, driver to Mr. Hutchins, was shot near Drumoleague; and in the same district Mr. Swanston was shot.

Michael Moroney, who lived at Cloonagro, said that the day after he had paid his rent men came to him and stabbed him in the back with a bayonet. Another man, named Michael Moroney, of Lahort, was shot in the legs.

John Lenane, an old man of seventy-seven years, was shot within a mile of Miltown Malby, when sitting at his kitchen fire, about seven o'clock in the evening.

A moonlighting outrage of a serious nature occurred at Carew Killa, three miles from Kildysart, late on a Monday night in May, 1889. A large party of disguised men visited several houses in the locality and fired shots into the dwelling houses of two farmers named O'Dea and M'Mahon. Fortunately no one was injured, but the inmates narrowly escaped with their lives. The marauders then entered the houses, seeking firearms, and intimidated

O'Dea into delivering his gun. They then decamped. No arrests have yet been made, but the police are actively investigating the matter.

At Youghal, on May 7th, 1889, Thomas Flavin, Simon Fitzgerald, and James Goold, respectable young men of the farming class, were charged before the magistrates with having, on the night of the 14th of April, attacked the house of Thomas Slater, a caretaker on an evicted farm on the Ponsonby Estate, and with having threatened to take his life; also with having, on the same date, attacked the house of Thomas Burns, a labourer in the employment of the Land Corporation.

The Special Commission report in the "Times," of November 24th, 1888, is so condensed in its evidence of many outrages that we give a part *in extenso* :—

Sir H. James resumed the examination of District Inspector Huggins. Witness said :—After the meeting of the 11th of September, 1881, Mr. Meredith obtained constant police protection. On October 3rd, 1881, James Curtin received a notice threatening him with evil consequences if he did not join the Land League. On October 16th, 1881, seven houses were visited by an armed and disguised party, who swore the inmates not to pay rent, and fired shots into the house. In that case there was a man shot by the police. He was called on to stand, and he did not, and the police fired at him. On October 16th, 1881, a horse was mutilated belonging to Jeremiah Mahony. I do not know if Mahony had paid his rent. There was also a notice threatening his daughter. She was a schoolmistress in the locality. On November 7th, 1881, the houses of five persons were visited by an armed party, and warning given not to pay rent. On November 10th, 1881, Walter Costelloe received a threatening notice. He had a mason building a house; part of the house was knocked

down, and the mason building it was threatened. The mason had been in the habit of working for Mr. Herbert. On November 12th, 1881, the house of Mr. Galvin, of Doonen, was visited. I inquired into the outrage, and Galvin said that a party of men entered his house and asked him had he paid his rent; he said he had. . . . On November 12th, 1881, I saw Thomas Galvin myself from three to four hours after the outrage. I proceeded to his house at Doonen immediately the outrage was reported to me. He was wounded by a bullet in the thigh. On November 13th, 1881, it was reported that the military sentry at Sandville Barracks had been attacked. On November 15th, 1881, three farmers received threatening letters. On November 18th a wall on the land of Timothy Horan was knocked down. I do not know whether he had paid his rent; that was not the motive assigned for the outrage.

Sir C. Russell: Is that the same man as the Secretary of the League?

Witness: No, it is not the same man. Between the 18th and 29th of November, 1881, outrages were reported to Mr. Davis. On the 29th of November, 1881, I saw a notice posted up threatening certain persons for sending their children to the National School at Clonee Loughs. The notice was partially torn down by Mrs. O'Brien, the schoolmistress. It threatened to boycott people who sent their children to Mrs. O'Brien's school. The school was boycotted because Ann Griffin, the assistant teacher, had a brother who had taken an evicted farm. On November 30th, 1881, the houses of nine farmers were visited, and an oath exacted not to pay rent. On the 3rd of December, 1881, thirteen farmers were visited and the same oath exacted from them.

Sir C. Russell: The entry in the book is "Administer-

ing unlawful oaths ; intimidation." Is that the oath not to pay rent ?

Witness: Yes.

Examination by Sir H. James resumed: On the 7th of December, 1881, Michael Flynn, farmer, Condal, was fired at in his own house by an armed party. He was wounded by a rifle bullet in the leg, which had to be amputated. It was reported that he had paid his rent. On the same night James Kearney, a caretaker on a farm belonging to Mr. Raymond, was visited by an armed party, who searched the house.

Sir C. Russell: I must object to the witness making a statement.

Sir H. James: He is only giving the report made.

Examination continued: On the 10th of December, 1881, threatening letters were sent to five persons. On the 16th a sheep belonging to Mr. Hussey was injured, which was being taken to an evicted farm. On the 17th two farmers received threatening letters. I did not see them myself. On the 25th six houses were visited by an armed and disguised party. On the 14th of January a cow, the property of John Fleming, was stabbed and killed. On the 5th and 6th of February notices were posted up with reference to D. Keefe and John Brosnan. They were to have their ears cut if they paid their rent. I think Inspector Davis has that notice. (Shown notices.) These were posted up publicly.

Witness then read the following notice:—

“Take notice of this abomination: that any person who will pay his rent will get the revenge of C. M.—”

That, I suppose, means “Captain Moonlight”?—
Yes.

—“and his successful companions’ rifles. Any person, male or female, who will speak to the constables will get the

same stand as I said before. Let every one peruse it, and any person——”

Here there are some words torn out.

—“hand in it to tear it, C. M. will give you an early grave in an early century.”

That is what is written here; I am reading it as it is written.

“I stand truly as before. As sure as God is your guide this is your coffin.—C. M.”

Then follows the representation of a coffin.

“Captain Moonlight’s warning.”

Then there is a figure which I cannot describe, and the words, “Shoot him.”

(To witness). Will you now read the next document?

Witness then read the following notice:—

“I stand here as sufficient and magnificent, as I often have before, and I verily believe that they are committed themselves wrongfully against the League. One of them are wearing a round hump, and I will soon straighten him.”

Do you know by the description who that is?—No, I do not know.

“He is deserving buckshot and ammunition these many days, and I’ll not mention the other one. The landlords are now on the brink of a sandy foundation, and on their knees. I hope you will stand by their fall and keep them down.”

Here there are some words left out.

“C. M., who will regulate your stand. He is the bravest captain in the land; he will give you buckshot to the eyes, and if any one will work for any landlord, I will give him plenty shot. As sure as God is your Creator I am your murder.—C. M.”

“Take this warning or not; I will have your life on the

spot. Captain Moonlight, the boy that regulates your movements.—C. M.”

Were there any threats against the tenants of Mr. Raymond and Lord Ventry?—Yes, generally; there were no tenants named.

On February 18th, 1882, two farmers were warned not to pay rent, and threatened with death?—Yes, and on February 24th, 1882, the houses of two farmers were visited by an armed and disguised party. A shot was fired into the house of one of them, named Dennehy, and he was warned not to pay his rent. On February 28th, 1882, the house of Cornelius Hickey was visited by two armed and disguised men. His case was proved here the other day. He was intimidated and subsequently shot. He was shot on June 8th, 1882, and his leg having been amputated he died. Then on March 5th Daniel Doolan was fired at and wounded. His case has also been proved here.

Then I think from March 5th to 25th there were several outrages to which Inspector Davies speaks?—Yes. On March 30th Mr. Arthur Herbert was murdered. He was at Petty Sessions in Castleisland that day. Mr. Meredith. had received police protection, but Mr. Herbert had not. He used, however, to be protected occasionally by patrols when we knew he was about. He was murdered at a place called Lisheenborne, about two or two-and-a-half miles from Castleisland. I went to the scene of the murder at once. I saw Mr. Moriarty there. He was going out with the clergyman of the parish, who had been sent to break the intelligence to Mr. Herbert's mother. He was hooted and jeered at by a crowd at the gate. The crowd consisted of people belonging to the locality.

Did you attend the funeral?—I did. The police and the military attended the funeral for the purpose of protecting the people who were going to the funeral. On

the night following the day on which the murder was committed a number of lambs were killed on Mr. Herbert's demesne. I cannot say how many were killed, but I saw one of them the next day.

That murder took place on March 30th?—Yes.

Then from March 30th to April 16th there were several outrages committed, which were inquired into by Mr. Davis?—Yes. On April 17th, 1882, John Culloty, a rent warner, was attacked in his house and was shot. That case has been proved here. He was shot in the leg, and his leg had to be amputated. Police protection was granted to him at that time.

Then between April 19th and 24th there were four outrages to which Mr. Davis speaks?—Yes. On April 25th a farmer named James Eraght got a notice threatening him with death if he did not give up a farm he had taken. On May 1st, 1882, the dwelling-house of Edward Walsh was fired into; and on May 7th a notice was posted up offering a reward of £100 for the name of any person who worked for John Culloty. That notice was spoken to before, and has been given in evidence. On May 14th Michael Callaghan and Thomas Lynch received threatening notices, and on June 2nd the house of Honoria Cahill was fired into. It was believed that her brothers were about taking an evicted farm. Their place was about four miles from Castleisland.

On June 8th we have again the case of Cornelius Hickey, which has been proved already. I believe during the early part of June a great many threatening letters were received and boycotting notices?—Yes, there were both letters and notices.

They run from June 5th to 26th—namely, June 5th, 6th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 18th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, and 26th?—Yes.

There is a notice, my Lords, I asked for just now. It is dated February 8th, 1882, and I will read it now:—

“£100 reward for any one giving information of paying rent. Captain Moonlight’s office, Tipperary, February, year 1882. Keefe, Daniel.—We are hereby ordered to give you notice, and a strict one: Why did you pay your rent a few days ago? Did you not know that the moonlight brigade is not dead yet, and I solemnly swear that before a few nights we will take a walk to you and clip off your ears, and also to the rest of your friends in Kilquane about paying of their rent—namely, John Huggin, for putting his land under the Court; Maurice Costello, for settling with the landlord; John Sullivan, for telling the people to pay their rent. Signed by Captain Moonlight. I will give £5 reward to any person who will give information about tearing off this notice.”

Then there is another notice:—“Captain Moonlight is now at hand. There is £50 reward by Captain Moonlight any man to give intelligence about any person to serve a land grabber and others.” Then there is a word “Sooper,” and the notice continues:—“And indeed, Mr. Horan, I am told you are giving a passage to Pat Kean for his cattle to the orfen’s land.” (To witness.) Do you know what that means?—Yes, Horan had allowed Kean to take his cattle over his land. Kean was obnoxious.

Do you know what “orfen’s” means?—Yes, orphan’s.

Sir H. James (reading): “Well, now, we are telling you in one word that if you let his cows come through your land any more, by Jesus Christ your life is not worth”—something I cannot read—“your sun will be set. Take very good care not to let Kean’s cows come through any more, and spare your own life as long as you can.” Then there is a picture of a man shooting with a gun, with a coffin, and “Mind the bog.” Between June 5th and

26th there were several of these letters and notices?—Yes.

On June 27th did you see the body of a man named Pat Cahill, who had been murdered?—Yes, it was lying on the mountain side. That was in the Tralee district and will not be in that book. This man was a caretaker for Mr. Hussey on an evicted farm. On July 11th, 1882, another caretaker, named James Kearney, was shot at Ballyplimouth. He was a sort of managing man for Mr. Raymond.

Then there were several notices from July 11th to 31st?—Yes.

See if these are the notices you received in July?—The notices were handed up to the witness and identified by him, and returned to Sir H. James.

Sir H. James: This, my Lords, is a notice printed in large type:—"Notice.—You are hereby requested at the peril of your lives not to transact any business with Patsy Power, the land-grabber, or his representatives. You will be well watched by our company.—Captain Moonlight." Who was Patsy Power?—He was a horse dealer who used to come to Castleisland Fair.

Had he taken any land to your knowledge?—Not to my knowledge. I heard he had.

Sir H. James: Here is another, my Lords:—"Notice. Labourers take warning, at your peril do not go into his house or work for the tossock jumper Collins, the oppressor of the poor widow and orphans of your class. Save yourselves. Keep your eye on —"; then there is the letter "h." I presume it is the commencement of "him."

Then July 12th, 1882, James Eraght received a threatening notice?—Yes.

Tell me from whom you received it?—I received it from James Eraght.

The envelope is addressed to Mr. Maurice Murphy. Who is he?—He is the proprietor of the Crown Hotel, Castleisland. The letter is addressed to his care for “James Eroct, Meenglaw.”

Is Maurice Murphy known to you as a Land Leaguer? —He was.

An active member or not?—He was an active member. I received the letter from James Eraght. Land League meetings were held at Maurice Murphy’s Hotel.

Sir H. James read the letter, which was as follows:—

“July 12th.—Brave James Eroct,—As a friend, I caution you the sooner you give up bog-ranging and understrapping and also land-grabbing is best for you. Blast you, you boycotted ruffian, do you know that the day has dawned in Ireland when landlords and their tools are trodden under foot by a poor suffering peasantry. It is absurd for your equals to think that you could be left live in a civilised country like this. So now prepare, you boycotted ruffian, you are sure to fall like the rest of our poisonous reptiles. Your carcass will be mutilated with bullets.—Yours truly, Captain Daylight. Direct your letter to Castleisland Barracks.”

The man Eraght, who gave you that letter, had had police protection, had he not?—Yes; he has had police protection in his house for two or two-and-a-half years. On the 4th of August a horse, the property of John Powell, of Dooneen, was maliciously stabbed. On the 21st of July, the 26th and 27th of August, and the 3rd of September, 1882, several persons were threatened respecting the payment of their rent and working for obnoxious persons. Between the 3rd of September and 3rd of October, 1882, several persons were threatened, the particulars being inquired into by Inspector Davis.

On the 3rd of October, 1882, Thomas Brown, of Dro-

multon, was shot dead in a field?—Yes; he was shot in a field convenient to his house. Between the 3rd of October and the 30th of November, 1882, thirteen outrages, such as sending threatening notices, raids for arms, &c., were committed in the district, according to the reports furnished to us.

Just see if this is one of the October notices?—Yes.

Sir H. James read the notice, which was as follows:—

“Take notice, Daniel Kearney, Moonlight Arms Hotel, Take notice! Pay no rent, or if you do you are liable to be shot. It is not what your brother Jim got you will get. You are liable for death altogether, and Jim will catch it yet. It is in store for both of ye again. It is the last occasion we will be going to trouble. Show this to Daniel Keef and Johnny Walsh and Dan Walsh; and Dan Walsh and Johnny Walsh, if ye do pay your rent, ye will catch it yet.

“Signed by Captain ——”

An almost similar notice was sent to Daniel Carney?—Yes.

Was this threatening notice sent to Mrs. Kearney on the 10th of November, 1882?—Yes.

Sir H. James read the notice, as follows:—

“Killarney, November 10th, 1882.—Dear Mrs. Kearney, I hereby warn you not to allow your children to be visiting the house of Mrs. Mahony, who is worse than an informer, and partly acting on that principle as well. If you don't keep your children from her company altogether, I'll have you in eternity ere the 20th inst. Under pain of cruel death never again allow your daughter or daughters either to work or speak to Mahony or his wife, who wants to confirm old Biddy Shea in her dirty false swearing. Lieutenant Moonlight, No. 14, will give the *coup de grace*.”

On November 30th, 1882, was Edward Boyle, game-keeper and bailiff to Lord Ventry, and his escort fired at?—Yes; and Constable M'Lean, one of the escort, was severely wounded and had to leave the service. Here is another.—“Notice from Captain Moonlight. If you don't send James Kearney's heifers off your land you will get the contents of Captain Moonlight's guns. It is all true, although you have a Captain Moonlight yourself. He is a rotten one. I knew you were a rotten scamp. You will get what Jim Kearney got.” Between November 30th, 1882, and February 25th, 1883, 30 outrages in that district, such as threatening notices, intimidation by firing shots, raids for arms, &c., were committed. On May 14th, 1883, James Walsh, a caretaker, was fired at and was wounded in the knee, and he had the marks of two wounds on each side of the spine.

Who was he?—He was a caretaker on an evicted farm. On June 30th, 1883, a horse, the property of Hugh Connor, was maliciously injured by one of its ears being cut off. Between June 30th, 1883, and January 17th, 1884, 33 outrages of the usual class were committed in the district. On January 21st, 1884, an outhouse belonging to John Flynn, at Portduff, was set on fire, and six head of cattle and a horse were burnt. Flynn got £120 compensation for the loss he had sustained. Between January 11th and July 25th, 1884, 84 outrages in the nature of raids for arms, threatening letters, &c., took place in the district. On July 8th, 1884, some heifers, the property of John M'Carthy, farmer, Cordal, were maliciously injured by having their tails cut off. Between July 8th and September 29th, 1884, seven outrages in the nature of raids for arms and threatening notices were committed in the district. On September 29th, 1884, some cattle, the property of John M'Carthy, were again maimed. I do not

know whether he obtained compensation for that outrage. Between September 29th and November 21st, 1884, several outrages were committed; two cases of stealing and slaughtering cattle being among them. On November 21st, 1884, the jennet, the property of Patrick Horgan, was maliciously injured by having its ears cut off. On November 28th, 1884, an attempt was made to blow up the residence of Mr. S. M. Hussey, land agent, by dynamite. The house was badly injured by the explosion and compensation was awarded. Between November 28th, 1884, and July 1st, 1885, 29 outrages in the nature of raids for arms, cattle stealing from evicted farms, and intimidation were committed. In the case of the stolen cattle the beasts were subsequently found slaughtered some distance away from the farms from which they had been taken. On July 21st, 1885, a valuable horse, the property of Bridget Horan, was injured by having one of its ears cut off.

Do you know whether two Land League meetings were held, one at Gneeveguillea on December 21st, 1885, and the other at Knocknagoshil on January 6th, 1886?—Yes.

Were you present?—Yes, at both.

Who were present at the meeting at Gneeveguillea on December 21st, 1885?—Mr. Edward Harrington, Mr. Stack, and Mr. Sheehan.

Those gentlemen were all members of Parliament?—Yes.

In the course of the speeches which were delivered at that meeting was any reference made to landlords?—Yes.

Mr. Reid.—If we are to have these speeches they ought to be proved in the ordinary way.

Sir H. James.—We have no report of the speeches and must prove them the best way we can. (To the witness.)

You were not sent there as a reporter?—No, to preserve the peace.

Did you hear any reference made to Lord Kenmare and Mr. Hussey?—I did.

What was said in reference to them?—They were spoken of in connection with the subject of their rents. I did not take any notice of what was said. I am speaking from memory.

What was said about paying rents?—It was stated that there was a demand for a 30 per cent. reduction made by the tenants and that it was not accepted by the landlords. The tenants were asked not to accept the 30 per cent. reduction, but to go in for a 50 per cent. reduction.

Was anything said about land-grabbers or land-grabbing?—Yes.

What?—I could not give you the exact words, but landlordism and land-grabbers were denounced.

Then who were present at the meeting at Knocknagoshil? Mr. Sheehan, Mr. E. Harrington, and Mr. Stack.

Were two reverend gentlemen there also?—Yes. One was the parish priest, Father Casey.

Among other persons did Dr. Moriarty speak?—Yes.

Who is Dr. Moriarty?—He lived partly at Castleisland, where he is trying to get an appointment as a dispenser.

What did he say?—He said, among other things, that he was an ardent admirer and follower of James Stephens, and was well acquainted with all the leaders of the Fenian movement in England, Ireland and Scotland, and until landlordism was completely abolished there would be no hope for this country; next to landlordism was the land-grabber, because he helped to keep up the system. The land-grabber should be shunned by every man caring anything for his country; no man should talk to him; they should shun him as if he had the plague. They might if

he were dying go for the priest for him, but not to attempt to bring him a doctor. Let him go to his grave unhonoured, unwept, and unsung, but none of them should go to his funeral; he would not allow anyone to go there except his widow, who ought to fire a pop-gun over his grave.

Was that spoken in the presence of the gentlemen whose names you have given us?—Yes.

Was this a large meeting?—It was not a very large meeting.

Were the words you have repeated to us spoken loudly at the meeting?—Yes.

Did you hear anybody dissent from that speech of Dr. Moriarty? Did either of the three Members of Parliament you have named, Mr. Sheehan, Mr. Stack, or Mr. Edward Harrington, dissent from it?—No.

Throughout the whole of the time you were at Castle-island how were the police treated?—Could you get cars or assistance?—No; three cars had to be sent into the district to enable us to go on duty and to move men on transfer.

Sergeant Shea said: I knew Thomas O'Connell, a farmer. He handed me a threatening notice which he said he had received, and which I have got here. On the 8th of August, 1886, that was given to me. On September 10th following, his house was attacked. In the following November a cow of his was stabbed. I knew a man named William Cohee. On the 12th of September, 1886, his house was attacked. I knew a man named Kevan, who was in his house, and who had been caretaking on the Townshend property. M'Carthy was bailiff on that property. I know the Daleys also in that neighbourhood. Their houses were attacked the next year. I produce a notice which I received from another constable, and which

was found posted up, and was intended for a man named Michael Devan. The constable who gave it to me has now left the service. There was a farm called Ballingarra. The police were caretakers there. I cannot carry the notice further than this, that I received it from the constable with a statement as to where he found it.

District Inspector William Henry Rice, Royal Irish Constabulary, examined by the Attorney-General, said:— I am at present stationed at Castleisland. From August, 1886, to May, 1887, I was at Listowel. In November, 1886, I took charge of the prisoners sent from Tralee Gaol to Cork City Winter Assizes. There were forty-three prisoners, the majority of whom were charged with moonlighting offences. When we got to Cork there was a large crowd there. I saw Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., there. I did not know him at the time, but I knew who he was afterwards. Mr. J. O'Connor appeared to me to be the leader of the crowd. He continually shouted and took off his hat and waved it over his head before the crowd. I saw him standing at the corner of a street, and I heard him shouting, "Down with British law," "Down with Cork juries," and cheering for Poff and Barrett. I distinctly heard him cheering for Poff and Barrett, and shouting "Down with Cork juries," and "Down with British law." The crowd repeated the same cry. When I heard him shouting "Down with British law," I told him that he should be cautious and mind what he was about. I knew who Poff and Barrett were. They had been executed at the beginning of 1883 for the murder of the husband of the last witness, Johanna Brown. I understood they had been tried in Cork. Mr. J. O'Connor and the crowd followed the prisoners and their escort all the way to the gaol, a distance of over a mile. Mr. J. O'Connor rode on in a car in front of the prisoners, cheering and shouting.

When a mob gathered round him he would address them till the prisoners had passed. I had some apprehension that there would be interference with the prisoners. I was in charge of the escort and was responsible for the safety of the prisoners.

Sergeant Faussett said—I was in the streets at the time the prisoners were passing through Cork. I did not see Dr. Tanner; I saw Mr. John O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor sat on the outside of the car and several times shouted, "Down with the Cork jurors," "Groans for the Cork jurors," "Cheers for Poff and Barrett," "Cheers for the Kerry prisoners."

Was this done once or more than once?—Several times between the "Examiner" office and the corner of Great George Street. Mr. O'Brien, now Mayor of Cork, got on the car with Mr. O'Connor. These phrases were shouted several times between that and Great George Street.

Was the car stopped before any houses where jurors lived?—Yes; I saw Mr. O'Connor put his hand on the reins of the car and stop the horse quite convenient to the place where Mr. Hunt and another juror lived.

Maurice Kennedy's horse was mutilated by having its ear cut off.

A great number of witnesses bore testimony to the fact that the League had fined them for an infringement of its rules, showing the coercive power of these lawless tyrants.

Daniel Cronin said: I am a tenant on Lord Kenmare's estate. In November, 1881, I paid my rent in secret.

On November 27th, 1881, my house was visited. I went to the back door and met two men. They asked me to come into the house. When they came in they put the lamp out, which was on the table, and turned my wife and daughter out of the kitchen. They asked me whether

I had paid my rent, and I said "No." They asked me to show them the pass-book. They then told me to turn my face to the wall, and shot me in the thigh. I reported the matter afterwards to Sergeant Drohan. I was attended by the doctor, and was laid up for some time.

Thomas Galvin, of Castleisland, had his house entered between eight and nine at night by disguised men as he was sitting in the winter with his family round the fire. They asked if he had paid his rent; he said he had. They then asked whether he preferred to be shot or have his ears cut off. They then shot him in the thigh.

Edmund Horgan's house was visited at three o'clock one morning by a party of men who broke into it. They took him into the road, ill used and beat him, cut his head, put him on his knees and gave him something like a book, which they made him kiss, and swear that he would not interfere again with the house or farm.

Edmund Brown took a farm, and, in consequence, shots were fired into his house.

Patrick Donoghue's house was entered at night in December; he was pulled out of bed, taken to the yard and beaten with sticks.

Mrs. Johanna Brown gave evidence that her husband, who was a tenant of Colonel Rowan, was shot dead while at work in his field, the motive being revenge, because he had bought some land.

Eugene Sheehy, of The Causeway, Dromartin, bought some hay at an auction on a farm where there had been an eviction, and shortly after a party of men visited his house at night, when he was in bed, and told him to give over the hay. They fired into the house, and two bullets were found next day. His horse's ear was cut severely the same night.

A man named Regan, of Drumleague, was shot for farming certain lands, and died twelve days after.

Michael Hayes, a caretaker for Mr. Beamish, was visited at night by a large party of men, who demanded that he should leave the place.

A man named Flahire, who had two acres of oats, found them cut, and half of them carried away.

The "*Kerry Sentinel*," of September 18th, 1885, in an article headed "*Brilliant Moonlight*," reported the theft of 17 acres of standing oats, which were cut and carried off in one night, which it regarded as a "smart affair."

John Curtin and his wife were fired at while going to mass on a Sunday.

The outrage books of the police brought before the Commission contained many particulars of outrages which were not specifically gone into.

Mr. Rice, of the Royal Constabulary, in evidence before the Commission, read from the outrage book—"Firing into dwellings, administering unlawful oaths. On June 22nd Michael Horgan evicted Patrick M'Namara for non-payment of rent. Edmond Horgan and his brother John went to live in the house. On the morning of 28th June a party of 20 men, three or four of them armed and disguised, visited the house, fired two shots into it; an admittance being refused, they burst in the door, dragged out the Horgans, tying John with a rope, placed them on their knees, and swore them not to enter the house again or take possession. John received three wounds on the head. Edmond was severely beaten about the head and body. When the Horgans were expelled the party replaced M'Namara in possession, after which the party left, taking Horgan's gun and ammunition with them. Accused acquitted at Cork Winter Assizes."

John Shea, who worked on the farm of Mrs. Mary Rice, at Ballymacquire, a tenant of Mr. J. O'Connor, was visited one night when in bed by two men in disguise, who had a gun and a revolver. He was asked why he worked for Mr. O'Connor, and he replied that he had to support himself, and had worked on the farm all his life.

Jeremiah Sullivan, an old tenant of Lord Ventry's, was visited by moonlighters, who fired through his bedroom window while he was in bed; the shot lodged in the curtains. In the morning he found the following notice posted on the door of his house:—"The cause why we came to you is that you paid your rent, and we swear by our God that if you ever pay it again you will be shot. Take notice that but for the very large family depending upon you, you would have been shot for paying your rent against the will of the people. There are more black sheep in the neighbourhood.—RORY OF THE HILLS, Moonlight Ranger. God rest his soul." Then there was the picture of a coffin.

Patrick Murphy, a tenant of Mr. Chute's, had his house visited at night by men disguised. They knocked at the door, saying they were policemen, and because the door was not opened they threatened to set fire to it. They fired shots and then broke the door open and entered. They seized Murphy, dragged him about the yard, and struck him with a gun. They put him on his knees, and made him take an oath that he would give up the farm. They fired at him again, but did not hit him; they cut off part of his ear with a knife. The furniture was thrown out of his house. He was subsequently fired at again, and some of his sheep were stolen and killed.

John M'Auliffe, a process-server, was attacked in his house at night. He was shot in the arm, and the limb had to be amputated; his brother was also hurt, and his

sister's head was cut and had to be stitched. Money was taken from his house.

Williams, of Brewsterfield, was attacked in his house at night.

Kaley, a caretaker, was murdered in broad daylight, and a man named M'Sweeney was shot, because he refused to give up his gun to the lawless tyrants.

An attempt was made to blow up the house of a man named Gloster, but the explosive went off too quickly, being 20 or 25 feet from the house, or else it was intentionally set off to attract Gloster to put his head out of the window that he might the more easily be shot.

Mr. Crane, District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, stated before the Commission—"I have always found that where there was a branch of the National League there was a branch of moonlighters also." Also that moonlighters made raids for arms and raids for money too, *i.e.*, for contributions to "the cause." The writer was in Court during Mr. Crane's examination, and amongst those who cross-examined him was Mr. Biggar, and when he could not shake his evidence, or get a reply satisfactory to his side about the explosion at Gloster's house, he said—"You have given two theories; they are both exceedingly vague, and about the same value as all the other evidence you have given"—a style of vulgarity which elicited several suppressed whispers of disgust. Mr. Crane's evidence was given in a remarkably intelligent and straightforward manner.

As in the rebellion of 1798 so of late years horns were blown and the bells of the Catholic chapels rung at places to give warning of the movements of the police.

The houses of Pat Finnicane and Michael Carnody were entered into by about twelve men, some armed and all disguised, and warned them not to pay rent unless they

received 35 per cent. reduction. They took a gun from the houses of Thomas Lyons and Mary O'Connor. The guns were given up peaceably on demand.

Edmund Kinnelly lent a mowing machine to a neighbouring farmer, contrary to a resolution of the Listowel branch of the National League, and four nights after his dwelling-house was set on fire and much of his furniture consumed.

The Land Corporation held evicted farms, and had cattle stolen in consequence.

Mr. Samuel Murray Hussey, who resides near Tralee, in Kerry, testified before the Commission that he was on good terms with his tenantry and neighbours until a Land League meeting was held in his district and his name mentioned. Then the attitude of the people changed, and he had to apply for police protection. Mr. Hussey said that the tenants could not pay their rents openly, for fear of being shot. Rents were always better paid in the poorer districts. An attempt was made to blow up his house with dynamite. His cattle were killed, and the sentries outside his house were fired at.

Mr. Jeremiah Hegarty, of Mill-street, Cork, stated before the Commission that he was boycotted by the League, and that in sixteen years he had lost £16,000 in consequence, and that his only offence was that he would not join the Land League.

Mr. Hegarty wrote a letter to Mr. Davitt, of which the following is an extract, in reference to the cruel action of the League towards him.—“It is needless for me to particularize their conduct here, but I say without fear of contradiction that if every district in Ireland is governed by the same reign of terror as Mill-street that the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended in its most hideous form. I know numbers of people who are coerced into this business of

the League by open and defiant threats of violence, &c. Surely such conduct as this is likely to weaken, instead of being an element of strength to the interests of the poor tenant-farmers of Ireland, whose wants so sadly require amelioration. Such cruel acts on individuals as have been practised on me are sure to evoke the indignation of every honest man in the community, whether in the Land League or out of it, and to produce the fruits they so richly merit." This letter was not replied to.

Men in Mr. Hegarty's employ had threatening notices to leave him. The house of his brother-in-law was set on fire, and much of his own property was destroyed. Notices were posted about, of which this is a sample—"Take Notice,—You are cautioned against having any dealings with Jeremiah Hegarty or his family, neither to buy nor sell them anything. Shun them as you would lepers. If you disobey this order, may the Lord have mercy on you."

Two men especially, named Murphy and Kelleher, were stationed close to his business premises, and they offered violence to some of his customers. He regarded them as members of the League, for he used to see them entering the League rooms frequently, and saw resolutions which purported to be passed by the League, and which were connected with their names.

Mr. Hegarty was several times fired at, and was hit on one occasion in the shoulder and on the head.

Philip Cremen, of Rathcool, was fired at for taking an evicted farm, was boycotted, was stoned at the Roman Catholic chapel, and was unable to earn a living from the 73 acres of land he rented because he could get no one to work for him.

Michael Fenton was visited by moonlighters, who attacked his house, smashed his windows, &c., because he had paid his rent.

Cornelius Kelleher, of Tullig, near Mill-street, was visited at night by a band of moonlighters, with blackened faces, who ordered him to open his door, and said that if he did not they would burn his house. His aged father and mother were living with him. They pulled his father, a man of 70 years, out of bed, and kicked him on the forehead. They then put Kelleher and his brother on their knees, and made them swear that they would not work for Mr. Hegarty any more, and then took them into the yard in their night-shirts, and beat them with white-thorn sticks. They were in such dread that they had to give up their work.

Jeremiah O'Connor, relieving officer for the district of Mill-street, who always steadily refused to join the Leagues, had a great many shots fired into his house, and the children's clothes were shot through.

Kate Fitzgerald, of Mill-street, was visited at night by moonlighters, who made her swear not to deal with Mr. Hegarty. She was violently struck on the head with a gun. Eight or nine of the men entered the bedroom of her daughter Ellen, and made her swear not to deal with Mr. Hegarty. They made a second visit, and threatened to cut off the hair from the girl's head.

Daniel Sweeney, a caretaker in the employ of Mr. Hegarty, was visited by moonlighters, who made him leave his bed, and commanded him to leave Mr. Hegarty's service. The poor man urged that he had no means of living except by earning wages.

Daniel Riordan, a caretaker for Mr. Hegarty, was visited by Moonlighters; they broke his doors and entered his house, pulled him out of bed, put him on his knees, fired several shots about the house, and cut his ear with a knife. They paid a second visit and smashed all the windows.

Head Constable Thomas Cahill, of Mill Street, took two documents from a Moonlighter named Connell, which read as follows:—"To Patrick Ring, Horse Mount. Please read the enclosed orders, which must be performed. Notice—four men and self in person to appear under all arms at an early hour at J. Twohig's on the night of December 30, 1881. Bring Healey's shears. A bayonet out of the stock and false whiskers for Owen Reredon also. (Signed) Moonlight, for approval. Confirmed." The second document was as follows:—"December 30, 1881. Regimental orders by Captain Moonlight. James Sullivan shot in the legs, and mother and daughter clipped for dealing at Haggerty's. No. 2. John Lenihan storytelling to F. Toom, clipped also. No. 3. Denis Cokeley for turning out his labourer, clipped. No. 4. John Murphy shot in the legs for paying his rent. No. 5. A man for paying his rent also shot. Signed and confirmed by Captain Moonlight. M. Cokeley clipped for talking to a peeler in Macrune and cursing Moonlighters. Regimental orders by Captain M. N. L. G. T. for appointed raids, December 30, 1881."

The Rev. Canon Griffith, a Roman Catholic of Castleisland, a faithful, loyal man, said in his evidence before the Special Commission:—On all occasions I preached against outrage. On December 25th, 1881, I found a notice posted on the door of my church, importing that I favoured the "tyrants" of the country, and saying that those who gave Christmas gifts to me would get buckshot. Every time that an outrage had taken place in my parish I had denounced it. A man named Jeremiah Reardon, a brother of the collector in the church, who was boycotted, was secretary of the local branch of the Land League. One day I was denouncing some crime—I do not exactly remember what—when he

spoke out in church most offensively. My parish became disturbed immediately after the establishment of the Land League. Up to that time rents were fairly paid in my district. The outrages seemed to me to arise out of mere vindictiveness and malice rather than anything connected with the land. People were much intimidated, and often told me they were afraid to do things they wanted to.

Do you contend that the substantial basis of the Land League was spoliation?—I do not say it was started for that purpose, but when established it was used for that end.

What was the condition of the Mill Street district in 1879, when the Land League was started?—Very peaceable, as far as I remember. There was a good deal of distress, but it was stopped by relief. It was brought about by the failure of the potato crop.

It is not the case that reductions as a general rule were opposed before the passing of the Land Act?—I never heard of cases where they were refused. I know that on several occasions I recommended the landlords in the district to give substantial reductions, and they almost invariably adopted my suggestions.

I think that the people themselves were not the cause of the agitation, but that it was the work of people who wanted to come to the front and be great men.

When did crimes begin in your district?—Boycotting began at the end of 1880. I think that crimes of violence classed in Government returns as “Agrarian Offences” began in 1881.

Sergeant Moroney being examined before the Commission, it transpired—“Just take out your note and tell us what Dr. Tanner said in reference to Mr. Hegarty.—He called him ‘a vile, creeping reptile living in their midst, who used all his influence maligning the people. He was

endeavouring to climb to the magistracy. He would yet be relegated to the lowest depths of a felon's cell."

Have you a note of anything he said on the other occasions?—Yes; he spoke again of Mr. Hegarty. He called him "an infamous being, who did not deserve the name of being, whose proper definition would be a thing; but since he should call him being, he would call him the lowest of created beings—a creeping louse." Later on he added, "As long as Hegarty is in your midst there will never be peace in Mill-street, and I call on all present who wish him away to hold up their hands. This was all addressed to a large crowd of people."

Head Constable Thomas Hobbins deposed that Dr. Tanner sat at a meeting at Mill Street, of 300 to 400 persons—Speaking of the landlord tactics at the last election, he said they irritated the people, and he, as a doctor, told them that when a sore of a patient irritated, inflammation set in, and the inflammation now set in should be brought to a point whether the lancet used was rifle or sabre. Alluding to Mr. Hegarty he said,—That landlord hireling and pimp, J. Hegarty, that parasite of infamy that no words would be low enough to describe, that louse—he fed on the rotten carrion of those landlords.

The following threatening notices were posted up in reference to Mr. Hegarty:—"Take notice that if you pay rent just now your body will be a mark for a bullet. Let Trench and his hungry dog go as empty as they came. That dog is Hegarty, and before long his body will be a mark for a rifle. Join the Land League.

"Take notice that any person found entering the premises of J. Hegarty will be expelled from the Land League and afterwards be boycotted as he has been. Follow this maxim. If not I will sacrifice my life for any of you." The last few words are illegible. There is a

great number of them, but this is a very fair specimen. They are all in reference to Hegarty.

The President:—How many? Tell me as nearly as you can how many you have got.

Mr. Atkinson:—I should think about 20, either to Hegarty or his tenants or customers. Another reads:—“If you pay any rent to that pauper Hegarty you had better look out.” Then another:—“Any person found dealing with Hegarty in butter or anything whatever or paying his rent will be shot. (Signed) Captain Moonlight.”

Cornelius Regan, a farmer near Charleville, received the following letter:—

“Firies, Castlefarm, co. Kerry,

“February 10th, 1886.

“Suspected Sir,—I am informed you have been noticed to pay your rent by the agent Tatlow, and thereby injure the rest of the tenants if you pay. You are aware of the fight your brother tenants are now making for justice, and if you pay you know the injury you will do them; and also remember what will become of yourself, as I have been written for to attend this cursed division of Killabrahah, and I have been told you went behind your brother tenants the last half-gale; but take notice that I will leave you as lonesome of your ears as Rea the bailiff was lonesome here. This warning is for your good, so pay if you like, and, if you pay, be sure I will call to you before leaving for Firies.

“To C. Regan. “(Signed) Captain Moonlight.”

Mr. Ronan:—Your Lordships will remember that the case of Rea has been proved. It is that of the man who appeared here with his ears cut off.

Regan's house was attacked and shots fired.

The following notice was posted on the house of Mr. Martin Daly:—

“Rory of the Hills.—I am going to pay you a small compliment that it is only too well for you to know. I will stain my hands in your blood, you one-eyed robber.

“ (Signed) Yours truly,

“Captain Moonlight & Co.”

Jeremiah Buckley, a tenant on Sir George Colthurst’s estate, was attacked by Moonlighters, who were disguised, because he had paid his rent. He was sleeping with his wife and three children. They cut off a piece of his right ear.

James Camier, living on the property of Mr. Swanton, was visited by moonlighters with blackened faces, who broke into his house, entered his bedroom, cut his ear, and struck him. He had served one process.

Mr. Swanton, on returning from Skibbereen, was fired at, and his left eye knocked out.

John Sullivan, of Skull, a car-driver, had his house wrecked and was boycotted.

Henry Copithorne, of Ballydehob, had his hay scattered about his field because he paid his rent.

Mrs. Haycroft, of Skull, a tenant of Lady White’s, also had her hay scattered about for paying her rent.

Richard Chard, of Kilronan, a shopkeeper, was boycotted, his sheep and lambs were killed, a calf was ripped up, he had threatening letters, poison was put in the water trough of his cattle, which they refused to drink, and he found two of them killed.

Mr. Feerick, agent to Mr. G. A. Brown, was murdered.

Mr. A. S. Bingham, a landowner of Mayo, was shot. His tenants paid their rents in secret, and were afraid to take receipts. He was fired at in a public road by a man dressed like a woman.

Bridget Barrett testified before the Special Commission that her husband, Thomas Barrett, was shot through the window as he was getting into bed one night.

Michael Brown, of Ballina, was fired at and wounded and beaten with sticks.

George Scott, of Crossmolina, was fired at through the door of his house, and his child nearly killed.

Joseph Hogan, of Crossmolina, was shot in the thigh from behind a hedge when in his field, and he attributed the cause to the fact that he had not joined the Land League.

Ann Gallagher, of Kylemore, near Swinford, gave evidence before the Special Commission that her father (then dead) was visited at night by a party of men dressed in black like policemen. They pulled him out of bed, and thrashed him, and commanded him not to pay rent.

Patrick Sloyne, of Kylemore, was visited at night by a party of men who fired through the door, killing a donkey. They asked him if he had paid his rent. He said "Yes," and then they beat him.

Martin Horgan, of Kylemore, was visited at night by a party of men with blackened faces, who broke open his door, came to his bedside, and said repeatedly, "Will you pay your rent again?" and then beat them.

Daniel Freeby, who had a farm on the Taafe estate, was visited by a party of men. They called out "—— rent-payer." Freeby hid in a loft, and they took his son outside the house, beat him severely, and then shot him dead.

John Connell, living near Claremorris, who had paid his rent, was threatened, and his mother was badly shot in her left hand. She was 70 years of age.

John Dillon, of Loughboy, gave evidence that his father was shot dead, a bullet being found in his chest and another in his head. His father had often helped his neighbours when in need.

Thamas Fahy, of Ballinrobe, Mayo, was fired at, at night, through a window of his house; the bullet passed

over his wife and child. A threatening notice with a coffin on it was left on his house.

James Mollowney, who rented a farm from Mr. Ormsby, was visited by a number of men at night who took him out of his bed and brought him into the street, bandaged his eyes and asked him if he would give up his land; he said he would if they would give him time to sell his cattle. They corded him, bored his ear through, knocked him down, kicked him and fired a shot over him.

Mr. George T. Sheen Carter, of Erris, near Belmullet, had a threatening notice that if he did not reduce the rents he would be murdered as Lord Mountmorres was. People were afraid to work for him, and his crops rotted in the fields. He was fired at, wounded in the knee and amputation had to be resorted to. His only offence was that he was a landlord.

Miss Lucy Thompson, a landowner, was severely boycotted, wires were placed across the road to stumble her horse and she was bodily hurt in consequence, and she and her tenants were otherwise subjected to outrage.

Hugh M'Call, a herd of Mr. Sydney Smith's, was visited by men at night, who pointed guns at him and his wife and commanded him to leave his employment in three days. This so frightened his wife that she went out of her mind and died in an asylum.

Michael Keefe, a farmer at Lisnaburg, near Mill Street, received threatening notices, was boycotted, his house was attacked, shots were fired, and he was struck with a stone for taking an evicted farm.

An old feeble woman named Hannah Connell, and her son James Connell, who lived near Miltownmalbay, were boycotted and could not get the necessaries of life. "Father" White, their priest, was president of the League and they appealed to him. The mother said "I besought

him for the honour of God not to let me be boycotted and to help me with my son. He said he had nothing at all to do with it," and did not help them. Then the son went to him and asked him how he was to support his aged mother, telling him they were without food, and adding I said to him, "for the honour of God not to see me and my mother die of starvation." He said he had nothing to do for me and went away.

Michael Moroney, of Cloonagroo, was visited by a party of men, because he was suspected of having paid his rent, and was stabbed with a bayonet. He stated that another man, named also Michael Moroney, was murdered.

Much evidence was given at the Special Commission inquiry that tenants paid their rents secretly, being in great terror of the Leagues. The recorded proceedings of many committee meetings of the Leagues were read, which proved that people went in fear of offending the Leagues.

The evidence of Captain Boycott, agent over Lord Erne's Mayo Estates, gave a graphic description of the effects of boycotting. He could get no one to work for him, and therefore was compelled to rise at four o'clock in the morning, go to the stables, feed the horses, then the cattle, thence to the fields to pull turnips for the cows, then home for a bath and a breakfast and so on doing all that was necessary.

A farmer living at Inch, near Ennis, was violently attacked, brutally beaten, and left for dead, because he refused to subscribe to the Parnell Indemnity Fund. He was found lying on the footpath near the town insensible, and was removed to the hospital. It is stated that the greatest intimidation was then being used to make people pay blackmail to the Parnell Indemnity Fund. "Times" Dublin articles of December 11th and December 12th, 1888.

The "Times" of December 15th, 1888, states:—

"Another outrage is reported from the Killarney district, in which the Plan of Campaign has been recently proclaimed on the Kenmare Estate. Last night four men, armed and disguised, entered the house of Timothy Cremmin, of Lissac Connor, demanded arms, and beat Bridget Cremmin, his daughter, with a stick. The outrage is one of a series apparently intended to intimidate tenants who are not disposed to adopt the plan."

A young woman beaten with a stick! Oh, the chivalry of these Irishmen! If this had occurred in London, there would have been a great outcry about it from a certain section who advocate the cause of women—when it does not interfere with their party politics!

One night, while a respectable and well-to-do farmer named Michael Hehir, residing at Kilmurry, county Clare, was sitting with his family at his fireside, three shots were fired at him through the window, but providentially he escaped uninjured. The Moonlighters fled, and Hehir was afraid to report the matter to the police. His offence is that a short time ago his brother-in-law, named Simon Kett, a farmer, living near Kilrush, who is severely boycotted for having taken an evicted farm, and who has been frequently denounced at meetings of the National League as a land-grabber, was allowed to stay in his house for a night on his way to Ennis Fair. Hehir had been warned not to have anything to do with Kett.

On the 10th May, 1888, a man named Ambrose, of Killeedy, was shot in the legs and dangerously wounded. His house was attacked at night by a party of men. They called for a drink of water, and said they would break in the door if they were not let in. Mrs. Ambrose got up out of bed and opened the door. The men asked her

whether her husband was grabbing land. She said her husband was not at home, but had gone to Fehonaugh to see a relative of hers who was sick. Mrs. Ambrose became frightened, and called out, "Oh, God, are you going to kill me?" Timothy Ambrose then came out of the room, and told the men to do to him whatever they intended doing to his wife. One of them asked him, "Are you going to grab land?" and Ambrose said, "I do not want land; I only want my honest money." One of the men then fired a shot which struck Ambrose in the leg, and he was six weeks in the hospital suffering from the wound.

The report states:—The life of the Ambroses since the occurrence had been a living hell upon earth. They had been boycotted; the house, which at first had been patrolled by police twice a day, was afterwards constantly patrolled, and ultimately it was found necessary to build a police hut in the yard of the house. For the last eight months they had been guarded day and night by the police, and they were absolutely and rigidly boycotted.

Major Le Caron was examined before the Special Commission, and said that his baptismal name was Thomas Willis Beach, and that he was born at Colchester, in England.

He had served in the United States Army.

He joined the Fenian Organization about the beginning of 1866, and became its military organizer. He acted as Inspector-General, afterwards as Adjutant-General, for the Fenian Brotherhood, and was entrusted with the laying of arms and ammunition and war material along the Canadian line of territory, and communicated every detail of what he was doing to the Canadian Government, and thus frustrated the attempts made upon Canada.

He explained that the United Brotherhood, Clan-na-Gael, and other secret societies used a cipher which was

by adopting the letter following the letter intended to be used, thus :—Jsfmboe would represent Ireland, as J is the next letter to I, S to R, F to E, M to L, B to A, O to N, and E to D.

Jsjti would mean Irish. The Chairman was known as X, the secretary as Y, the treasurer as Z.

The object of the United Brotherhood was to bring about the establishment of an Irish Republic in Ireland, and the independence of Ireland, and it was believed that the only method by which this could be accomplished was by force of arms.

The United Brotherhood was known as V. C.,—V. following U. and C. following B.

The following document was read :—"The objects.—The object is to aid the Jshti (Irish) people in the attainment of the complete and absolute independence of Jsfmboe (Ireland) by the overthrow of Csjuhti (British) domination; a total separation from that country and the complete severance of all political connection with it; the establishment of an independent Republic on Jshti (Irish) soil chosen by the free votes of the whole Jshti (Irish) people without description of creed or class, and the restoration to all Jshtinfo (Irishmen) of every creed and class of their natural privileges of citizenship and equal rights. It shall prepare unceasingly for an armed insurrection in Jsfmboe (Ireland). It shall have no interference directly or indirectly in politics. It shall act in concert with the J. S. C."

You had better just take it and read it (handing document to witness). What was the J. S. C.?—That stands for I. R. B., the Irish Republican Brotherhood — the organization on this side of the water.

Read the rule, and I will ask you a question about it. "Act in concert with the Irish Republican Brotherhood,"

and something ; then you will find.—“ Act in concert with the J. S. C. in Ireland.”

Yes ; read on, please.—I shall have to translate that cipher first.

Yes ; translate it, please ; Hsfbu Csjubjo. — Great Britain.

The Attorney-General (reading):—“ In Ireland and Great Britain, and assist it with money, war material, and men.” Then, my Lords, districts are given ; some of them in cipher, the same cipher. “ Article 7 ”—there are a number of articles, my Lords, which must all go in—about the duty of the officers “ in order to combine the whole Jshti (Irish) revolutionary movement all over the world in one compact confederation, acting under a common head, so that it may be capable of acting with vigour and decision against the power of Fohmboe (England) by securing concert of action and concentration of force between the scattered divisions of the Jshti (Irish) race. The F. C. (Executive Body) is empowered to name a S. C. (Supreme Council) in conjunction with three men named by the S. C. (Supreme Council) of the J. S. C. (Irish Republican Brotherhood) and one by F. of B. and O. A. under the following conditions, first, that the first S. C. (Supreme Council) elected shall draw lots as to which shall serve respectively for one, two, or three years, and that each new F. C. (Executive Body) shall elect only one member to fill the vacancy, who shall hold office for three years thereafter on the S. C. (Supreme Council). Second, that the S. C. (Supreme Councils) shall be responsible to the bodies which elected them in their action, and account for all funds entrusted to them for Jshti (Irish) revolutionary purposes. Third, that the S. C. (Supreme Council) shall take charge of the immediate preparation for a struggle with Fohmboe (England), shall have power to declare war, to negotiate

with foreign powers hostile to Fohmboe (England), and to assume all the powers, functions, and authority of a provisional government in Jsfbmboe (Ireland) when war has been declared. Section 2 of the S. C. (Supreme Council) in order to carry on these conditions shall be empowered to make requisitions on the V. C. (United Brotherhood) for any funds it may require for revolutionary purposes. It shall be recognized as a supreme authority in Jshti (Irish) revolutionary matters, directing the policy of the whole movement, and shall be obliged so long as in the judgment of the F. C. (Executive Body), the S. C. (Supreme Council), and the F. of B. and O. A. its action is directed solely to the attainment of the complete independence of Jsfbmboe (Ireland)." There are a great many more. "Article 24 is this. 'The military department shall be a special organization under the direction and supreme control of F. C. (Executive Body). They shall provide for the appointment of the necessary officers and otherwise enact such laws for its good government as to them may seem necessary.'" I wish the whole of it to be printed, my Lords.

Major le Caron described the work from 1875 to 1878 as increasing the organization, the subscribing money, holding meetings, and shipping arms to accredited agents in Ireland.

He said that Rossa was a member of the V.C. or United Brotherhood, and was expelled because of some defalcations in connection with the skirmishing funds.

The trustees were John S. Breslin, John Devoy, and William Carroll, *i.e.*, Dr. Carroll.

Two envoys were sent from America to Ireland—John Devoy and General Millen, one as the civil, and the other as the military envoy. Their object was to investigate the condition of the organization in Ireland, and to report to

the coming Convention in Pennsylvania. Ten thousand dollars were devoted to this visit of the envoys, the money being taken from the skirmishing fund.

He saw Davitt in America.

The following is an extract from another document which was read :—"There has been hardly any movement in Ireland during the past 50 years that has promised more good to the people of that unfortunate country than the one that is now making progress for the redemption of the land. It is the only real, important, and tangible thing that has been presented to the people, and if successful, it will prove the most effective agency in accomplishing the greater revolution that will rid the nation entirely of foreign rule. When you get the people deeply interested in the land question, when you bring it home to the timid Conservative farming classes, you start into life forces that have lain dormant, and you do more than aught else to educate them up to a sense of the rights and dignity of manhood, and to impart to them some of the spirit that makes bold, independent, and order-loving citizens. The landlords of Jsfmboe (Ireland) are the garrison forces of Fohmboe (England). If the people, by a determined, orderly movement, constantly increasing in magnitude and moral strength, can make it uncomfortable for these foreign soldiers and their agents to live in Jsfmboe (Ireland), or to draw therefrom the fruits of Jshti (Irish) industry, they will have achieved not only the freedom of the soil, but the independence of the nation. There is much in the political horoscope to give encouragement in this popular struggle. Europe is in the throes of a political and economic dissolution. The old is passing away and the new life is at hand ; and whether the change is being made through the terrible agencies of the dynamite of the Nihilists of Russia, or the pistol shot of the Socialists of

Germany, or the march of the Republic of France, or the demand for the land in Fohmboe (England), Tdpumboe (Scotland), and Jsfbmboe (Ireland), it is as certain as the sun in the heavens that a great revolution is being wrought, and that aristocracy and feudalism must give way to democracy, and the distribution of the soil among the people. The land question is not confined to Jsfbmboe (Ireland). There is already an awakening in Fohmboe (England) and Tdpumboe (Scotland), and the thunders that resound from the valleys of Munster and the mountain sides of Connaught will be echoed back with renewed force from the banks of the Mersey and the heath-covered hills of Scotia. God speed the work. It was said of Joseph that he was "a growing son." May it be said of this movement that it is a growing movement, and that the tree which was planted by Davitt in the soil of Mayo in April last may spread its branches wherever an Jshtinbo (Irishman) breathes or the heart of a humanitarian beats responsive to the cries of the people for a larger and better life."

Major Le Caron said that in a conversation with Devoy, he was informed that it was contemplated by the organization to inaugurate a new system of warfare, cold-blooded murder, and destruction of property.

Major Le Caron was very intimate with Egan, going to places of amusement with him and visiting at his rooms.

The following was elicited with reference to Mr. Parnell:—"The Attorney-General—Did he say anything further about him?—Yes. He cited to me, as proof of his statement in reference to Mr. Parnell, that about a year previous to this conversation, Mr. Parnell had made application and had endeavoured to join the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the organization upon this side of the water; but Mr. Egan stated that at that time Mr. Parnell thought

a good deal of the organization when he was outside of it, but that it was not in as good and prosperous a condition as he would like to have it, and as he thought it was, and we thought that Mr. Parnell would think a great deal more of it if he was upon the outside than if he was upon the inside of it. Therefore he was not admitted. He assigned another reason. He stated that it might also have interfered with the usefulness of Mr. Parnell, and, they refused to allow him to become a member."

Major Le Caron described the proposals of attacking the enemy, *i.e.*, England in the rear in the case of an Anglo-Russian War, and "silent secret warfare" that was to be relentlessly waged.

In the cross-examination of Major Le Caron by Sir C. Russell the following was read from a document:—"The governing body has met and decided that the hour to strike for Ireland's deliverance has not arrived. This decision has been ratified by the S.C. (Supreme Council) and F.C. (Executive Body). England, although beset with difficulties, which grow embarrassing from day to day, and may soon bring about Ireland's opportunity, is at present prepared for any emergency. Our preparations are far from complete, and no action upon our part, public or private, must tend to produce such a state of things as would enable the British Government to stamp out the organization at home. Such a catastrophe would blast Ireland's hopes for many years to come."

In reply to Sir C. Russell as to whether there were 500 representatives of the United Brotherhood in favour of a policy of outrage and dynamite, Major Le Caron replied, "A great many more than that."

The following are extracts from the "Times" on the examination of Major Le Caron:—

Now, as to the Skirmishing Fund, you say that a policy

was determined upon—I think you said the dynamite policy. Will you just say what passed at this secret meeting with reference to that?—Previous to the passing of the resolution which you have just read a great deal of discussion occurred, introduced by a delegate, E. O’Meagher Condon, and W. F. Mackey Lomasney, who was an envoy just returned to that Convention from Ireland. It was also followed up by General Millen. William O’Meagher Condon commenced by making an attack upon the Revolutionary Directorate for their inactivity during the past two years. He mentioned some plans which he himself and others had placed before that Revolutionary Directorate, which were feasible, and could have been made a great success.

What sort of plans?—Fitting out of armed cruisers; the rescue of Michael Davitt—he was in gaol in this country at the time; the fitting out of an expedition to South America, to some little place that the English had occupied, without claiming any right, for a number of years—I forget the name; it is a very small piece of territory in South America. The members of the Revolutionary Directorate defended their action, and a discussion ensued *pro* and *con*, and the voice and sentiment of the Convention was eventually expressed in the resolution passed as you have read it.

Do you remember which resolution you have referred to? Is it “Whatever steps they might take,” &c.?—Yes, sir.

I notice the report of the Skirmishing Fund referred to; were you present when that report was presented?—Yes.

Did you take the figures down?—Yes.

Are these the figures (handing a document to the witness)?—Yes, sir, taken at the time.

Perhaps I may read them, and you may check me if you please:—

The report on the Skirmishing Fund referred to by the President showed the following:—

RECEIPTS, &c.

Total receipts by "Irish World" up to	
May 31, 1881	\$88,306 32
Received by Trustees from other sources	1603 50
Interest	1072 50
Profits on Exchange	471 25
	<hr/> \$91,453 57

EXPENSES, &c.

Purchase of Bonds	\$31,488 87
Lent per F.C. to S.C. for Tools	10,000 00
Lent to F.C.	5875 00
Irish Volunteers	1000 00
J. J. O'Mahoney's Burial	2030 00
O'D. Rossa's Defalcations	1321 90
Old Submarine Vessel	4042 97
New Submarine Vessel	23,345 70
Miscellaneous Expense	321 04
Lent Dr. Carroll	860 00
Luby and Burke	100 00
Cheques Dishonoured	78 68
Reception, Condon and Meledy	249 79
Allowed A. Ford on old money, Rossa's not cashed	41 90
"Irish World" overcharged	5 04
Subsidizing Foreign Newspapers (J. J. O'Kelly)	2000 00
Land League Trial (Davitt)	1532 00
Special to O'Kelly	177 63
Authur. New Departure	1003 90
Stolen by Messenger of "Irish World"	27 50
Reception of Parnell	165 00
	<hr/> \$85,666 92

ASSETS.			
Balance in Bank	...	...	\$5,745 82
Balance on Hands	...	...	40 83
			<hr/>
			\$5786 65
Interest due	...	...	280 00
28,000 Government Bonds, now valued at			32,480 00
			<hr/>
			\$38,546 65

A document was read by the Attorney-General, which concluded thus—

"We mean war upon our enemy. We mean that war to be unsparing and unceasing. We mean it to be effective. But we also mean to win with liberty the respect of the civilized world. To give effect to this meaning, brothers, we again beseech your loyal, energetic, immediate aid.

"Respectfully and fraternally,

"X. (President) of F.C. (Executive Body) of
V.C. (United Brotherhood).

"Y. (Secretary) of F.C. (Executive Body)
of V.C. (United Brotherhood)."

"Head-Quarters, R.D. (Revolutionary Directory).

"A majority of the entire R.D. (Revolutionary Directory), to whom the above was submitted, beg to assure their brothers that they heartily endorse both the sentiment and the recommendations of the circular, and assure you that they are working in perfect harmony with the new F.C. (Executive Body).

"Respectfully and fraternally,

"The R.D. (Revolutionary Directory)."

Mr. Joseph Soames, the eminent solicitor, representing the "Times," and head of the firm of Messrs. Soames, Edwards and Jones, 53, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London,

produced before the Special Commission a large number of letters and other papers written and signed by Mr. Parnell. Mr. Soames' opening examination is thus described by the "Daily Telegraph" of February 15th, 1889:—

"For the first hour the documents put in appeared to have come from some unknown person living in Drumcoudra Road—the questions and answers are given below—but the proceedings were of the quietest and most formal character, the Attorney-General being in his severest 'form,' and the witness—who, by the way, frequently spoke in so low a tone that it was difficult to catch his answers—naturally replying with business-like precision and accuracy. Letter after letter was put in, and suddenly the stream of documentary evidence swept straight on to the well-known fac-simile letter and other letters and signatures of Mr. Parnell's collected from all quarters. The 'black box' marked 'A' was placed by Mr. Soames' side, and in a short time he was fairly surrounded by photographs of letters, memoranda, the 'Kilmainham Book' in which all suspects were required to sign their names on entry, and the original letters themselves. These important scraps of paper had all been photographed, and the slips of cardboard handed up in bundles to their Lordships, but the real documents themselves were produced, carefully placed between two sheets of transparent gelatine, framed with a small edge of white paper. All the letters referred to—a full list of which is subjoined—were in the handwriting of Mr. Campbell, and bore Mr. Parnell's signature. This important—to many minds the really important—*cruz* of the case, came as a surprise in a thinly-attended court, and when the moment of production came there was a sudden hush of dead silence, in which every rustle of every leaf could be heard. As Mr. Soames

proved each letter it was handed to Sir Charles Russell, and as he inspected it, Mr. Asquith and Mr. T. Harrington leaned over his shoulder and peered at the transparency. The letters were then restored to the custody of the Secretary to the Commission. Before the central moment of the production of the letter of May 15th, 1882, was reached it should be understood that many specimens of Mr. Parnell's handwriting were put in, such as orders of admission to the House of Commons; letters to various persons, dated from Avondale, Mr. Parnell's country seat in the county Wicklow; to Messrs. Ransom and Co.; and to the 'Times' newspaper itself. Autograph signatures, signed to many documents and scraps of paper, such, for example, as an order to the clerk in Palace Chambers to deliver his letters, were put in. These had no direct bearing on the case, but were produced as evidence of the authenticity of the alleged incriminating letters. When the 'Kilmainham Book,' a bulky and somewhat tattered volume, had been put in, the Attorney-General, with a request for Mr. Soames' attention, asked if, prior to the publication of the fac-simile letter in 1887, he had been advised by Mr. Inglis on the matter. 'We really cannot have that,' said Sir Charles Russell, and in reply the Attorney-General argued that he had a right to ask the question to show the bona fides, not of Mr. Soames, but of the 'Times' newspaper. After consultation, their lordships held that the evidence was inadmissible, and the Attorney-General bowed to their decision. Then came the crucial question, 'Did you form an opinion before publishing the letter of May 15th as to whether it was the signature of Mr. Parnell or not?' 'I did,' said the witness. 'Whose signature did you believe it to be?' and the answer was firm and straight—'Mr. Parnell's.' With equally unhesitating decision the witness swore that he believed the body of the letter to be

in Mr. Campbell's handwriting. That gentleman was present in court, but Mr. Parnell was not visible. Then we had the Egan letters, found in James Carey's house and shown to the witness by Mr. Macdonald, the manager of the 'Times'; and, finally, Mr. Lynch, a gentleman holding an official position in the Dublin Land Courts, came into court and gave out of his official custody a proposition for the purchase of certain lands by the 'Irish Land Purchase and Settlement Company,' signed 'C. S. Parnell,' and it was understood that Mr. John Fox Goodman, another official, would produce documents bearing the signatures of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Egan. So far, then, the evidence was that Mr. Soames believed the 'fac-simile' letter to be genuine."

The second day of Mr. Soames' examination is thus referred to by the "Standard":—

"To show how Mr. Parnell's admitted writing varied, Mr. Soames put in a sheet of paper bearing the Irish Leader's signature written in half-a-dozen different ways. Mr. Parnell, he observed, had made contradictory statements about the letter of the 15th of May, 1882. First, when interviewed on the subject, immediately after the publication, he declared that the signature was totally unlike any that he had ever used, and subsequently he stated, in the House of Commons, that it was like a signature which he used down to 1879, and then discarded. There was no little sensation when the witness stated that Mr. Pigott had told him that Mr. George Lewis had endeavoured to get him to say that he had forged the letters; and the Court got still more deeply interested when it was stated that, according to Mr. Pigott, Mr. Labouchere had offered him £1000 to go into the box and say that he had committed forgery. No arrangement, Mr. Soames said, had been made with Mr. Pigott. He

had not been promised a sixpence. All that had been said to him was that the 'Times' would not see him ruined simply for going into the box and telling his story."

The "Times" of March 12th, 1889, thus reports a murderous attack:—"For the second time during the agrarian agitation they have failed to murder Mr. Arthur Gethin Creagh, J.P., though on the present occasion they have succeeded in seriously wounding not only that gentleman, but his sister. Both were driving from their residence at Carrahan to divine service at Quin yesterday, when they were attacked from behind a high hedge with firearms. Five shots were fired at them in rapid succession. Mr. Creagh received several of the pellets through his hat in the head, while Miss Rebecca Creagh was wounded in the forehead and nose with shot. Having recovered from the shock and surprise caused by the dastardly attack, Mr. Creagh drove fast to the Quin police barracks, where, blood-stained and agitated, they reported the occurrence to the police, and had their wounds attended to. Drs. Moloney and Lewis report the injuries received as serious, but not dangerous. Mr. Creagh was fired at some years ago, but then escaped unhurt, owing, it is believed, to his assailant's blunderbuss bursting. More recently, while reading a newspaper in his own house, he was fired at through a window. The bullet on this occasion whizzed passed his face, but he escaped uninjured. The only motive assigned for these crimes is the fact of his having evicted a tenant who refused to pay rent. Mr. Creagh has since farmed the land himself, and is in consequence boycotted."

The houses of several farmers in a townland near Ennis were entered by Moonlighters in search of Poor Law voting papers which were likely to be hostile to their Nationalist friends. They carried off the papers from

half-a-dozen houses, but in two or three instances they met with determined resistance and failed in their object.

This is a striking proof of the tyranny and coercion exercised by the so-called Nationalists.

The evidence given by Mr. Harcastle, of the firm of Messrs. Spain, Brothers, and Co., accountants, in reference to the moneys which the Land League and the National League have collected in America and elsewhere for their agitation work, described the funds under four heads:—

A. The Land League Group.

B. The National League Group.

C. The "United Ireland" Group, and

D. Sundry Accounts not comprised in the above.

The gross totals were brought out as follows:—

	Receipts.			Payments.		
Group "A," Land						
League	£261,269	15	6	£261,276	1	3
Link Account	3,607	6	8	4,394	8	7
Group "B," National						
League	115,628	0	1	111,729	13	8
	£380,505	2	3	£377,400	3	6
Group "C," "United						
Ireland"	71,155	14	4	69,580	4	1
	£451,660	16	7	£446,980	7	7

On January 7th, 1889, the house of Michael Davenport of Durneen, near Newquay, Barren, Clare, was fired into by an armed party of Moonlighters. The shots penetrated the window of the bedroom where Davenport and his wife were sleeping. Two bullets lodged in the wall a few inches above their heads. The motive appears to have been that Davenport had taken a grazing farm which had been surrendered two years ago.

Early in January, 1889, a gang of twenty men of whom

six were armed, visited parts of the Kenmare Estate, and ordered the tenants to join the Plan of Campaign. They entered the house of a man named McGillicuddy, and asked if he had paid his rent or joined the Plan. He replied that he had paid before the conspiracy started on the estate. They commanded him to sit on a chair so that they might shoot him in the legs. He did so, but his wife threw herself upon him and begged them not to murder her husband. The appeal succeeded. They entered another house, but Cooper, the tenant, had run away from them, and they shot his dog.

Mr. Reginald Digby, agent to Lord Digby, gave the names and addresses and produced various letters from tenants who stated that they were in fear of its being known that they paid their rent, that they paid it in secret.

Mr. George Hewson, a land agent, gave evidence and produced letters from tenants that they were afraid to pay their rents—if they did they knew they would be “killed,” meet with “sudden death,” &c.

Mr. G. Young the son of an owner of estates in Donegal gave evidence before the Special Commission that his father's tenants were afraid to be seen coming to pay their rents, and he produced letters showing the terror the people were in.

Mr. Garrett Tyrell, of Edenderry, a land agent, gave evidence that the tenants were in great fear of paying their rents.

Mr. Robert Powell, the land agent near Westport, gave evidence of the terror people were in, lest it should be known that they had paid their rents.

Mr. Henry Vereker, agent to the Acton Estate, Ballyhean, gave evidence of the fear tenants were in.

Mr. John Barrett, of near Bantry, a land agent, gave

evidence that the tenants through fear came to pay their rents by "stealth."

Francis Jago, examined before the Special Commission, said that he lived in Killoo, and became a member of the Land League about 1881, that he was appointed by the League to fire into the house of James Fury when the people were at supper, and that a Mrs. Scanlon lost her reason through fright. He was appointed to break windows, and to give a man named Houlighan a "stroke," which he did with a shoemaker's clamp, from the effects of which Houlighan died. He also gave many other people "strokes," although he did not kill them; for this work he was paid.

Patrick Delaney, a convict, was brought from Maryborough Prison, Queenstown. He stated before the Special Commission that he joined the Fenian Organization, and took an oath to take up arms at a moment's notice to gain the independence of Ireland, and to obey his superior officers. He described the working of the circles of this and other societies, gave the names of the members who were the organizers, and their connection with the Phoenix Park murders—of their planned attempts to murder Judge Lawson, Mr. Anderson, Crown solicitor, the whole of the Executive Council, *i.e.*, the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and other Government officials—how that very special steps were taken to assassinate Mr. Forster. His comrades were the Phoenix Park murderers and others. Superintendent Mallon and others were to be assassinated.

Mr. Hallam George Studdert, agent for the Earl of Norbury and various other large landowners, gave evidence of the fear the tenants were in on the different large estates he represented in various counties. These tenants were afraid to pay their rents except under legal compulsion, and Mr. Studdert said:—"A good many came to me

by stealth to ask me to take proceedings and serve processes"—and much similar evidence he gave. Mr. Studdert was shot at and was boycotted.

Patrick J. Farragher, who had been a clerk at the offices of the National League, gave considerable evidence, connecting several persons with the Leagues, and testifying that Patrick Egan, treasurer of the Land League, and James Mullett, convict and Invincible, were on familiar terms, that they met several times, and that cheques drawn by Egan in favour of Mullett were cashed at the Hibernian Bank. That the Ladies' Land League, of which Miss Parnell is the secretary, held its meetings at the same house as the Land League.

Mr. Robert M. D. Sandars, land agent to his father, Mr. Sandars, of Sandars Park, Charleville, and others testified as to the fear of tenants to pay rents, and when asked for the names of those who had paid secretly, he declined to give them as it would be attended with danger to the tenants' lives. Mr. Sandars gave several instances of outrages upon tenant farmers.

Denis Jobin, of Kilmanahan, a Moonlighter, gave evidence of several outrages in which he had personally assisted, and gave the names of persons who accompanied him on the outrage expeditions, which persons, he said, were in intimate communication with both the League and the Secret Society.

Constable Fawcett gave evidence of persons who supplied criminals with food, thus implicating them as associates.

Captain Slack testified that the League encouraged outrages.

Mr. T. W. Russell wrote to the "Times," January 26th, forwarding a number of letters from tenants on the Clanricarde Estate, to the effect that they were both able

and willing to pay their rents, but were afraid to do so; indeed they were in great dread that their lives would be taken if they did pay.

Mr. W. Hanly, an estate agent, of Thurles, Tipperary, representing 42 estates, gave many instances of tenants who paid their rents secretly because they were in fear of the League. Tenants trembled with fear from the dread of being murdered, because, as honest men, they paid their rents.

Mr. Patrick J. B. Daly, solicitor, of Ballinrobe, Mayo, gave evidence of having defended prisoners and that he was paid by the League.

A letter was read from Mr. O'Reilly, editor of the "Boston Pilot," offering Mr. Davitt £1 per week for a letter a week, "however short," on the Irish agitation.

The "Times" prosecuted Patrick Molloy for perjury in the evidence before the Special Commission, and, in examining a witness named Patrick Delaney, before Sir James Ingham, at Bow Street, the following occurred:—

Do you know Patrick Egan?—Yes. He was then treasurer of the Land League and a member of the Fenian Brotherhood. I had seen him at the meetings several times. He was also chairman of the Amnesty Association.

Was that an association to provide funds for the Fenian prisoners?—Yes, for their wives and families, and for their defence.

Was Egan, as well as being a Fenian, an Invincible?—He was the recognized leader of the Invincibles in Dublin.

Was he one of the recognized leaders while he was treasurer of the Land League?—Yes; he was residing in Paris.

Do you know P. J. Sheridan?—Yes, well.

Mr. Lynskey : Has this anything to do with the case?

Sir James Ingham : I think it has a great deal to do with the case.

Mr. Mathews : Was he one of the organizers of the Land League?—Yes.

Had he anything to do with the Fenian Brotherhood?—Yes. He was a member of the Supreme Council.

And had he anything to do with the Invincibles?—Yes. He was the first to bring the idea to Dublin.

What was Byrne?—He was secretary to the Land League.

Was he an Invincible?—Yes. Matthew Harris was a Land Leaguer and Invincible.

The Attorney-General read before the Special Commission the following extracts from documents in reference to the American-Irish Society:—

“ ‘Do the Irish Nationalists intend to abandon their physical force theories, and mainly depend on constitutional agitation?’ asked the “Herald” reporter.

“ ‘Not by any means. We simply don’t believe in little insurrections that England can crush in a few days or weeks. We propose that in the event of war Ireland shall keep quiet, at least for a time, and simply formulate her just demands; that the organized Nationalists outside of Ireland shall actively assist England’s enemies and hurt her whenever and wherever they can. They can do this to an extent that is little thought of now. This is our programme—peace at home, active aggression against England wherever a blow can be delivered to the best advantage. This is all I can tell you just now, and there is no use in asking me any more about it.’

“ ‘Some of your Nationalist friends, Mr. Luby, have an idea that if a majority of the members of Parliament were secured, and the country were otherwise ready, they could meet in Ireland and declare themselves an Irish

Legislature, the Nationalists making that declaration the signal for a war of independence. Would you be in favour of such a policy ?

“ ‘Certainly. If such a state of things could be brought about, especially if England were engaged in war, it would be the proper thing to do, and the best means of enlisting the active sympathy and co-operation of the whole Irish race. It would also give us a standing before the world that a mere insurrection would never give us.’ ”

“ Three lots, in all 40 rifles and five revolvers, have been seized by the British Government in two years.

“ The R. I. B. have received and expended

for tools	...	...	...	£4815	15	6
“ Expenses have been	...	...	...	£2010	0	0
“ From Ireland, received for arms, &c.	...	...	...	£1359	14	6
“ England and Scotland	...	...	...	£1763	0	0
“ Total expended since last report	...	...	...	£6828	8	5
“ Purchased arms—Sniders	...	...	...	2844		
“ Revolvers	...	...	...	702		

“ Total ... 3546

“ Losses—Rifles 40, revolvers 5.

“ Proposed to purchase and ship 200 6-in. cannon, submitted by O'M. Condon.

“ State of the organization on other side.

“ Number of members—

“ North of Ireland	...	...	12,748
“ South...	...	...	6403
“ East ...	...	...	3683
“ West ...	...	...	8974
“ North of England	...	...	4477
“ South...	...	...	570
“ Scotland	...	...	1326

“ Total ... 38,181 ”

(To the witness.) Where did these figures come from?— They were submitted by the Foreign Relations Committee to the Convention.

Major Le Caron, in his evidence, stated that circulars were sent out to members of the American-Irish Society; that the members numbered 23,000, and that each member received a circular which deliberately supported a policy of dynamite and outrage. This policy was principally advocated in 1881 and 1883, but not since 1886.

Major Le Caron said that Mr. Parnell had given him two photographs of himself, and had written his (Mr. Parnell's) name on one of them in his presence.

Mr. Charles Dennis Boyd was shot while riding in his car. He was a son of Mr. Thomas Boyd, clerk to the Crown and Peace in County Tipperary.

Richard Mitchell, an agricultural implement salesman, was severely boycotted because he sold his machines to persons who had taken evicted farms. He had to go 18 or 20 miles for food, and stated on one occasion he went to the meat shop of Mr. Condon, M.P., butcher, in Clonmel, and bought a piece of meat of his assistant. Mr. Condon came in just as he was leaving the shop and tried to take it away from him, saying that if he had been there he would have given him the knife instead of the meat. Through being boycotted, 30 acres of his corn rotted on the ground, and previous to boycotting he had a "splendid business." His son, a lad of 18 years, was attacked and maimed for life. In reply to Sir Charles Russell, he said that he was never boycotted until Mr. Davitt came to the neighbourhood.

William Joseph Ludgate gave evidence that he was assistant editor of the Cork Constitution paper, and deposed that Mr. Biggar had said in a public speech that "they had all seen what Hartman had done, and if the

“ present constitutional course which they were pursuing
“ in Parliament did not succeed in getting the rights they
“ wanted for Ireland, he thought that Ireland would be
“ able to produce another Hartman, probably with a
“ much better result.” It will be remembered that
Hartman was the Russian dynamiter who attempted to
blow up the Czar’s train on the Moscow Railway.

Mr. Creagh, solicitor, of Listowel, Kerry, and Mr.
J. G. Ryan, solicitor, of Athlone, gave evidence that they
had been employed by the Leagues to defend people who
had been guilty of outrages.

Andrew Colman gave evidence before the Commission
of arrangements made for the shooting and poisoning of
persons. In one case £25 was to be paid for shooting a
person, of which £10 was to be paid by the League, £10
by the Fenians, and £5 by some one else.

Inspector Martin, a brave officer of the Irish Constabulary, was cruelly beaten to death by a mob in the
execution of his duty, in February, 1889, on the doorstep
of Father M’Fadden, the Catholic priest of Derrybeg
Chapel, Gweedore.

The Attorney-General read several extracts from the
“ Irish World ” which recall revelations made from time
to time of the condition of Ireland in relation to the
agitation.

Sir James Hannen said: “ One of the charges made
against several gentlemen is that they have disseminated
certain newspapers inciting to outrage, and that among
those newspapers was the ‘ Irish World.’ This is a specific
charge of fact which we have to deal with.”

Much evidence showed that the Land League distributed
copies of the “ Irish World.”

Extracts were read, such as:—

“ 29th May, 1880.” (Davitt’s second visit to America.)

"Among the very first to welcome Davitt, next to Dr. Carroll, were representatives of the 'Irish World,' and the meeting was indeed an animating one. 'You are doing a noble work,' said he, 'and the "Irish World's" Light—our greatest reliance—is spreading gloriously.'"

The Attorney-General then read a speech delivered by Mr. Davitt, which appeared in the "Irish World" on June 5th. In it the speaker referred to the cursed system of feudalism which existed in Ireland. There were, he said, men in Ireland of courage and consistency who would carry on the fight, and there was a movement which must overthrow an alien and hostile government. The movement being national, he felt sure of the constant support of those whom he addressed. It was such a movement as was required to destroy the system of landlordism in Ireland. In order to carry on the work they appealed to Irishmen in America for support. He urged upon the Irish organization and the American organization to sink their differences in order to attain their common end. Then, said the Attorney-General, Mr. Dillon also spoke, and in the course of his speech he said that they, as representatives of a party, had a duty to perform, and that was to stand in the path of the English Government. It was their duty, and they would set about it without delay, to disorganize and to break up the Irish constabulary. The hour at which they took away the bayonets of the Irish policemen would be the hour when the Irish landlords would come to them for a settlement. If, instead of £120,000 a year, only £10,000 a year were spent upon the Irish constabulary he should like to see the Irish landlord who would dare to face the Irish tenant, and they would soon have a settlement of the land question.

The Attorney-General then read the following extract

from "Hansard" of Mr. Gladstone's speech of the 28th of January, 1881:—

"Hon. gentlemen would have us suppose, sometimes, that this crime is owing to distress in Ireland; sometimes that it is owing to evictions in Ireland. It is evident by the testimony afforded by facts that it is owing neither to the one nor to the other. ('Oh, oh.') Well, sir, the distress of Ireland in the first six months of last year was very great and bitter in many portions of the country. But those six months contributed only one-fourth, instead of one-half, to the agrarian outrages of the year. In the last six months of last year that distress was wonderfully mitigated, and in many districts of the country entirely removed. But the agrarian outrages rose to three-fold the figure they had reached in the first half of the year. It is not easy, then, to fix the crime upon the distress. Can you fix it upon evictions? Let us see how they stand. In the first quarter of the year 1880 the crime was small and the evictions were very large. There were in that quarter 490 evictions. In the next—the second quarter—there were 622 evictions, or about 1100 for the half-year; and that half-year was not marked by any considerable, scarcely any perceptible, increase of crime. We come to the third quarter. There was still a large number of evictions, about the same as in the second quarter—629. Crime, I admit, increased in that quarter, but the evictions have not materially increased. We pass on to the fourth quarter, when evictions almost disappear. They sunk to 152; but while the evictions sink from 629 to 152, the crime rises from about 600 to 1300 cases. It seems to me that if we wish to ascertain whence this crime really comes we must watch its movements, and we must see what are the concomitants of this crime. That which diminishes while the crime increases is not likely to be the immediate

and direct cause of that crime ; but that which increases with the crime and the movements of which correspond with it with wonderful exactness, then it is that the judicious inquirer will begin to believe that he is getting nearer to the true cause and incentive to the crime. Now, sir, let us see what is the real relation of the operations of the Land League to the crime of Ireland. I do not speak of these operations as a whole, because I am persuaded that there are many persons who have connected themselves with it who would not tolerate or excuse crime, or willingly contribute to it in the slightest degree, however indirectly. But at the same time, we must look to the words that have been used, and we must look to the consequences that have followed from the use of them. The hon. gentleman says :—‘ Why had you not the courage to withdraw the ticket-of-leave from Mr. Davitt?’ Well, sir, it appears to me that if we have to deal with anyone whose words and actions are to be called in question, there is no safer, no more upright course than to challenge some member of this House. I will take the speech delivered by the hon. gentleman, the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), on the 19th of September, at Ennis. The hon. gentleman gave us in this House a most attractive account of the operations and objects of the Land League. Nothing could be smoother than his language, nothing could be more moderate than its purposes, as he described them. But let us see what is the language he holds on the other side of the water. ‘ Now what are you to do,’ he asks, ‘ for the tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?’ He then describes, as I will read by and by, the punishment that is to be inflicted. But I wish to observe before going on to the punishment what the hon. gentleman’s definition is of the offence. We are told in this House that the object of the Land

League is to prevent persons from taking farms from which others have been unfairly evicted, harshly evicted, tyrannically evicted—evicted for the non-payment of unfair rents. All these limitations, with which we in this House can perfectly well dispense, are prodigally showered upon us here; but they disappear from the speech of the hon. gentleman in Ireland. (Mr. Parnell dissented.) Well, I will read the words of the hon. gentleman, and a shake of the head will be in vain—”

“Now, what are you to do with a man who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?”

“Mr. Parnell: Unjustly evicted.

“Mr. Gladstone: I read the words as they have been reported accurately upon what I believe to be authentic evidence.

“Mr. Healy: Jeremiah Stringer. (‘Order!’)

“Mr. Parnell: I rise to order. In all the speeches that I have made in Ireland in which I have referred to tenants being evicted, I cannot recollect a single occasion upon which I omitted the word ‘unjustly.’

“Mr. Gladstone: All I can say is that the memory of the hon. gentleman seems to be fallible. At any rate, I am not quoting from any haphazard and unauthentic report, but from a report prepared by a short hand writer of the highest credit and eminence, and sworn and proved in a Court of Justice. Such, sir, is the crime. It matters not whether the landlord has been tyrannical and harsh, or whether he has been kind, indulgent, considerate and forbearing. The crime is of occupying a farm from which even in the last extremity—even to meet his own personal wants and those of his family—a landlord has felt it necessary to remove a tenant. That is the crime. What is the punishment? When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted—

“Mr. Parnell: Unjustly evicted.

“Mr. Gladstone: It is a pity these odd words so constantly drop out. (‘Shame.’) Such, sir, is the crime, what is the punishment? When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted——

“Mr. Parnell: Unjustly. (Order.)”

“Mr. Gladstone: I shall read on, Sir, from the sworn testimony which I have in my hand—‘You must show him on the roadside (‘Shun him’) when you meet him. You must show him in the streets of the town (‘Shun him’); you must show him at the fair and market place and even (‘Shun him’)——

“Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The right. hon. gentleman is entitled to be heard without interruption.

“Mr. Gladstone: ‘You must show him at the fair and market place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by sending him to a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he were the leper of old; you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it if the counties of Ireland carried out this doctrine that no man, no matter how full of avarice, how lost to shame, will transgress.’ What? The regulations of the Land League? No. ‘Your unwritten code.’ Does the hon. gentleman believe, or does the House believe, that words like these are calculated to promote the observance of the law? The words sworn in Court are these: ‘That if a man occupies a farm from which any man has been evicted from whatever cause——’

“Mr. Parnell: Unjustly evicted.

“Mr. Gladstone: These are the words sworn to in Court. They were not shaken in Court, and if there had been an attempt to shake them, those who attempted to shake them would have been subjected to cross-examination. These

are the words which are so declared to have been used, and irrespective of the cause, the circumstances, and the character of the proceedings, it is characterised as a detestable crime deserving of complete isolation from all human kind, for any man to enter upon a farm from which another man for whatever reason has been evicted."

. . . . "I will now read one other passage, not from the speech of the hon. member, but from a speech of one of his leading friends, who, I hope, is in his place—the hon. member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). These are the words of the hon. member for Cavan, spoken at Kinlock, in the county of Leitrim, on the 31st of October, 1880. 'It is your duty'—he was recommending, of course, the cause of the Land League—'It is your duty, and it is your interest, to give your assistance in such a manner as I will now point out to you. We do not recommend shooting landlords, that is an extreme measure, and certainly we do not recommend it, and, besides, it is held undesirable for the interests of the cause that it should be done, and for this reason—that when such a thing takes place, it is blazoned forth in all the English newspapers, and prejudice is excited in English minds against the Irish tenant farmer, which is calculated to interfere to a material extent with the advocacy of my hon. friend Mr. Parnell and others on behalf of the tenant farmers.'"

Sir Henry James read from a speech delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. W. E. Forster, on February 22nd, 1883 (*see* Hansard, vol. 276, col. 618).

"Now I wish to state that, in my opinion—and I believe that it will be the opinion of many others—no mere disclaimer of connection with outrage will be sufficient. We have had disclaimers before; I am told that James Carey even wrote a letter of condolence to Miss Burke on

the murder of her brother. Do not let the hon. member suppose that I charge him with having planned any murder, or with complicity with murder. But I wish there to be no mistake that this I do charge the hon. member and his friends with. He and they allowed themselves to continue the leaders—he the avowed chief—of an organization which not merely ostensibly advised and urged the ruin of those who opposed them, and avowed that doctrine of ‘boycotting,’ which was to make life almost more miserable than death, but which set on foot an agitation, which organized or promoted outrage and incited to murder, of which the natural result and outcome was murder, and the hon. member ought to have known this to be the natural outcome. It is very hard for me to understand how he did not know it, and how he did not separate himself from it altogether, and disavow and denounce it. I have two or three questions perhaps more detailed to ask, and they shall relate to the period before the arrest, so that the hon. member, Mr. Parnell, will not be able to plead his residence at Kilmainham as a reason for not according the information. I will first, however, make one remark with regard to crime before and after the hon. member’s release. It does so happen that as regards the most serious offence, murder, that for the three months before the release of the hon. member for the City of Cork there were five agrarian murders, and in the three months afterwards there were nine, not including the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke as agrarian murders. There is another of his colleagues, Mr. Sheridan. I am not asking what Mr. Sheridan may have done lately, with respect to which there is only, after all, the statement of Carey; but I am asking what the hon. member must have known he was doing before his arrest. He called him the organizer of the Land League.

Well, I refer to a speech on August 1st, 1880. Did the hon. member read that speech? It is very curious if he has not, because it is a speech which I believe was produced at the trial. Mr. Sheridan, in that speech, said:—

“ ‘Organise yourselves; join the National Land League, and by this means you will see your country what it once was—a free and prosperous country.’

“ What followed?

“ ‘If we do not get these things through our members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices from the muzzles of Minie rifles as well as from many platforms.’

“ Did the hon. member approve of this? (Mr. Parnell—‘Hear, hear.’) Well, then, he did approve of what led to a great deal of violence. I do not myself believe he did; but he was content that the League should be thus organized and that his power should be thus increased. This is the charge I make upon him—that he was reckless of the conduct of his colleagues, and was content to derive advantages from their violence, instead of doing what I should have thought any man of his education and position would have done—that is, that he would have declared, ‘This is a wicked and dangerous matter, and I will disavow all connection with it.’ What I want to know is this—Did he know what sort of man Mr. Boyton was, who was his organizer? He had given him fair warning of what he was likely to do. Here is another speech, delivered on June 13th:—

“ ‘I want you to lift your voices and hands to fight for the green soil of Erin. . . For the short time this movement has been on foot no leader has ever gained so much for us’—and he might have added ‘for himself’—‘as our illustrious leader, Parnell.’ Did the hon. member for the city of Cork ever inquire into the action of another

of his assistants—Redpath—an intimate ally of the Land League leaders? Redpath spoke at the Land League Convention in Dublin—he was Mr. Sexton's right hand man; and at a banquet he publicly avowed his intentions to commit murder. I never heard any denunciation of Redpath afterwards (Mr. T. P. O'Connor.—Read the words.) I will. 'No English nobleman would ever cross the Mississippi, or hunt deer or buffaloes on the American plains, without the risk of being shot by an Irish bullet.' Did the hon. member keep himself in ignorance of speeches such as that? Can we imagine that he did not know what effect they would have? They had two effects—they brought money into the Land League treasury, and thereby increased its power—they stimulated to murder, and incited to outrage."

Here is an extract from a letter:—

"Thanks to the 'Irish World' and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear for its ultimate success.'

"And that is signed 'Charles Stewart Parnell.' No wonder the hon. member at that particular time thanked the 'Irish World'; for on November 20th, 1880, there had appeared in the 'Irish World' immediately before the opening of the trial, the following threat; and this, bear in mind, appeared in a paper, a large number of copies of which were sent to Ireland and circulated from the office of the Land League:—'I dare them to convict,' says the writer, 'I say "dare" advisedly. Let my words go forth. Accursed be the juryman who will dare to find these men (the traversers) guilty of any crime against the people of Ireland.' No wonder, then, the hon. member for the city of Cork thanked the 'Irish World.' Did he not know what the 'Irish World' was then doing besides helping

him and trying to obtain for him an acquittal? On July 31st, 1880, a dreadful agrarian outrage was committed in Mayo, in which a man was shot, who, after long weeks of lingering, at last died. On this the 'Irish World' says:—

" 'Somebody said long ago that it made no difference among neighbours who dies first. Those killings on both sides have been too long continued for us to hope that they will be discontinued. But every pistol shot will stimulate action. . . . There are stirring times before us. Awaken your neighbours. It will soon be daylight.' Is not that an incitement to murder? Another foul and brutal murder was committed. Did the hon. member see this? Who was it took pains to conceal from him this paper? Another foul and brutal murder was committed, and this is how the organ of the Land League—the unofficial organ perhaps—heads the paragraph:—'Another Land Thief Executed.' "

Again, on March 12th, 1881, the 'Irish World' says:—

"London, consisting of four millions of the wealthiest people in the world, is at the mercy of its criminal classes, who number 250,000, guarded by only 2,500 regular troops, 10,000 policemen, and 10,000 men in Volunteer companies—the latter merely holiday soldiers. Make a note!"

"Did the hon. member, I ask, make a note? The article goes on, 'Spread the light! Oh, spread the light!' No wonder, sir, we have murders and outrages when we have a man of the energy, eloquence, and position of the hon. member for the city of Cork condescending to carry on an agitation by the help of such means as this, and which could not be conducted without the money which was obtained by this ruffian print. . . .

"When the hon. member talks about attempts to dis-

courage assassination, what I say is this—that no speech could have been made more calculated to cause fresh murders and at the same time to keep the man who made it free from the law as it then was than this speech. Well, the hon. member for the city of Cork had a substitute for murder which was to make murder unnecessary. It was ‘boycotting.’ I do not need to quote again the speech of the hon. member at Ennis. It was not a mere outburst but a plain proclamation of the mode in which the agitation was to be carried on—that a man should be tabooed in his shop, in his family, and even in his church; that his life should be made a perfect misery to him; not only that he should be ruined, but that mere pecuniary ruin should be nothing compared with the suffering he was to undergo if he was not to keep the unwritten law of the hon. member and obey the will of himself and his myrmidons. That is the mode in which the hon. member would have made murder unnecessary. My right hon. friend the Prime Minister, in a powerful speech made last year, used these words in reference to ‘boycotting’; and they are very true. He said:—

“ ‘The creed of “boycotting,” like every other creed, requires a sanction, and the sanction of “boycotting”—that which stands in the rear of “boycotting,” by which alone “boycotting” can be made thoroughly effective—is the murder which is not to be denounced.’ ”

“ Was the hon. member so ignorant of the passions of his fellow-countrymen that he did not know that this must be the result? What was the effect on the minds of the people of Ireland? They did not draw the line. Those miserable wretches who planned the murders in Dublin; they took not, indeed, the letter of the hon. member’s advice, but what seemed to them its spirit. They said— ‘ We do not know how to draw the line between ruining

a man and killing him ; we find killing the easier, and we will carry out that as the principle which has been pointed out to us. And, talk about this as a constitutional agitation. Some members yesterday were referring to it as such and appealing to us that we should not allow liberty to be invaded by putting down a constitutional agitation. There never was such an attack upon liberty as was this terrorism. This is the first time in the history of either England or Ireland, so far as I know, in which an agitation has been conducted by appeals to personal injury to individuals and not by appeals to the voter or to public opinion. There has been strong language, there has even been rebellion ; but it is a new experiment in agitation, of which the hon. member for the city of Cork may claim the great credit—that he would endeavour to succeed, not by appeals to constituencies and public opinion, but by terrorism and injury of individuals. No wonder that from such an agitation as this has followed the first political assassination which has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years. Now, at last, the meaning of this agitation has been discovered, and there is an abhorrence of it in England and Scotland."

Various witnesses gave evidence as to the surreptitious importing of arms into Ireland, including rifles, revolvers, bayonets, and rounds of ammunition at various times, amounting in the aggregate to very large quantities.

An extract from a letter from "*Transatlantic*," which appeared in the "*Irish World*," October 23rd, 1880 :—

"Foolish Work.

"At the Claremorris Petty Sessions a man was charged with maliciously cutting off the tails of three cows. The prisoner was remanded.

"This is foolish work. Better take out a scythe, reaping-hook, or butcher's knife, and cut open the bellies of the

animals. Let them drop dead, then they *can't all*, flesh, skin, and bowels, be carried off to England. You can kill an ox with a revolver bullet or two if you hit the beast in the forehead between the two horns. This is the more human (*sic*) method.”

An extract from the “Irish World,” October 30th, 1880:—

“(Report of speech by Davitt, at Leadville, Colorado.)

“During the speech Davitt made a complimentary allusion to the ‘Irish World,’ characterizing it as one of the noblest friends of the Irish people, which sentiment was responded to by rousing cheers.”

The following extract from a cablegram was also read, from “United Ireland” of February 5th, 1881:—

“The Land League has scored a victory. The ten-to-two disagreement of the jury, in face of the tremendous pressure of the Court, is everywhere accepted as having the force of an acquittal. . . . Thanks to the ‘Irish World’ and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear of its ultimate success.

“CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.”

Mr. Atkinson then read the following extract from the “Irish World,” June 25th, 1881:—

“Landlordism Doomed.

“Here is a sample notice that has had a terrifying effect in the Loughrea, co. Galway, district, where it has been extensively posted. What is especially terrifying about these notices is that they are generally *meant*.

“The placards were headed, ‘More to be murdered.’ The writer said that the authorities were mistaken, as they had the wrong men in custody for the murders recently committed in the district, and concluded as follows:—

“ ‘The man who shot the men is still at large and has more good work to do in the district and other parts of the country. Land-grabbers must be stopped at any price. The next place to be visited is near the residence to the man Kennedy, who holds the widow Dempsey’s land at Kylebeg. This Kennedy dug up the evicted widow’s potatoes after being sown. Does the Government think that such wretches will be allowed to live because they have passed the Coercion Act? No. Such wretches will be shot if they had the protection of Her Majesty’s force. No more land-grabbers will be allowed to live in Ireland. The next parties to be settled with are land-grabbers named Clarke and Glennon, who took a farm which a tenant had been evicted from in Shangarry, recently, by Lord Clancarty. These wretches will be made short work of too, should they continue to keep the lands. After that five more landlords—two Catholics and three Protestants—will be shot. No more landlord tyranny will be tolerated in the district. Landlordism is doomed. It is on its last legs, and it is not within the power of the Government to keep it alive. It must go and make room for the owners of the land of Ireland—the people who are ready to till it, and not the lazy drones who squandered the people’s money for years. Away with tyrants.

“(Signed) RORY.”

In a letter published in the “*Irish World*,” December 18th, 1880, “*Transatlantic*,” after describing and commenting upon the murder of young Mr. Wheeler in the county of Limerick, said:—

“ ‘Outrages’! They haven’t begun yet! Out ye vipers of darkness! Out ye hungry wolves! Ye bloodhounds! Out from God’s holy isle ere ye are overtaken by that punishment which caught the wicked land-wolves of France from 1779 (*sic*) to 1793.’ [The article then com-

ments on the foreign embarrassments of England, and concludes:—]

“Moral—Irishmen !

“You will perceive from all those facts which I have gathered for your study that England must be near ‘standing on her last last legs.’ Another Sepoy rising in India, another Kaffir rising in South Africa, another war in Cabul, another war in Burmah, *no enlistments* in Ireland, England, or India. . . . Then the coming battle in England and Ireland between the people who labour and the people who idle, who rob the labourers by 50 different stealthy methods. This battle is coming. Nothing can keep it back. Therefore, Irishmen, cheer up. Cheer each other! Be brothers. ‘Fall in.’ Study military knowledge night and day, Sunday and holiday. Keep sober with closed lips, but burning hearts. The day for your emancipation is nearer than you suppose.”

Mr. Atkinson then read the following extract from a cablegram from Quinn, in the “*Irish World*” of July 9th 1881:—

“Thomas Brennan—bold and brave Brennan—has been removed from Naas Prison to Kilmainham under a strong escort. I visited him, Dillon, and Kettle yesterday. All three well. Brennan reiterated his belief that a strike against rent altogether, cutting off the landlords’ supplies completely (*sic*), as Ireland’s only hope for success, and I, his successor and your correspondent, heartily endorse Brennan, who speaks for the true apostles of the cause, every one of whom wants to see that movement go forward. The sole reliance of the cause now is the ‘*Irish World*.’ Another 20,000 francs received Monday. . . . Men of America! We depend more and more upon the ‘*Irish World*’s’ light. Spread the light and all else will follow, and you may be sure there will be ‘No surrender.’”

A shocking outrage was committed June 17, 1889, a short distance from the village of Ballinhassig, about ten miles from Cork. The victim was a man named Daniel Brien, in the employment of Mr. Walton, receiver over the Whately estate. It appears that a few tenants on the estate were evicted some two or three years ago, and Brien was employed as caretaker on one of the farms occupied previous to the eviction by John M'Carthy, secretary to the local branch of the National League. M'Carthy now occupies an adjoining farm. Some weeks ago some of his cattle strayed into evicted lands, and a prosecution for trespass ensued, the magistrates granting decrees, and ordering that the boundary fences between the two farms should be repaired by both parties. While engaged yesterday in repairing the fences Brien was fired at and severely wounded. The occurrence took place in broad daylight, and quite close to the public road. The shot was fired from behind some trees, and in the opposite direction to where Brien was looking. The unfortunate man fell heavily to the ground writhing in pain, and when found was discovered to be severely wounded in the right and left thighs and abdomen, while the fingers of his right hand were nearly shot off.

Two moonlighting outrages were perpetrated on the Kilcummen district in June, 1889. A body of armed and disguised men visited the house of a man named John Sullivan, who had that day paid his rent. They fired a shot, which took effect in the furniture, and beat the tenant. They also attacked the house of a farmer named Keilly, who resides in the same district, and who had also paid his rent. Keilly was dragged out of bed and then out of the house and beaten and kicked. Both men were made to swear that they would not report the outrages to the police.

TERROR.

AN evidence of the terror in which the tenants were of the Leagues, is found in the few following letters from some of the tenants on Lord Kenmare's estate. They are simply a sample of many :—

“Clumlara, November 11th, 1885.

“Sir,—You would confer a favour on me if you sent me a receipt for £18 I paid you on account of my rent on the 23rd of October, without including the word account or balance in it, as I am reported to have the rent paid, and am bound to produce some proof of not having done so beyond the valuation before the public on Sunday next. The balance I will soon pay. Your compliance will oblige.

“Your obedient Servant,

“TIMOTHY CONNIHAN.

“To Maurice Leonard, Killarney.

“P.S.—The same date will do, and will send the other receipt if you wish.”

“Reanasup, Gneeveguillea, County Kerry.

“November 7th, 1885.

“Dear Sir,—I enclose a draft in the National Bank for £13 10s. payable at Killarney, being the amount of one gale of rent. You will please send a receipt to my address. I have to request that you will keep this matter a dead secret, as it is very necessary that it should not be made public, and that when sending the receipt the Estate Office brand be not marked on the envelope. Hoping you will kindly oblige,

“I remain, very truly yours,

“JOHN HERLIHY.

“To Mr. Maurice Leonard.

“P.S.—Please address the letter containing receipt, John Herlihy, Reanasup, Gneeveguillea.”

“Reanasup, Gneeveguillea, Rathmore,
“December 26th, 1885.

“Dear Sir,—I have confided to you the whole secret of this business since the commencement, and I trust you will help me out of this terrible difficulty in the manner I have requested. even should the form be not entirely lawful. I will be only too happy to pay all the expenses incurred at the earliest opportunity. I may tell you that if it were known with certainty that I had my rent paid my life would be in the greatest danger. Hoping you will kindly oblige and keep this matter as I have written before—a dead secret.

“I remain, dear Sir,
“Your obedient Servant,

“Mr. Maurice Leonard.”

“JOHN HERLIHY.

“Honoured Sir,—I would very badly want to see you about the state of the water course or courses, here it would be difficult for me to find words to describe. Long before boycotting was general in Kerry, I had ample experience of it in many ways. The reason the water courses are let close up is to block me up and keep me idle, so that I could not drain or manure. There are several parties between me and the river, so that I am completely blocked up. Unless you give me any relief, all my work will be idle. It would be as well for a person not to have land at all, unless he is doing something in the shape of improvement. What land I have is a regular swamp. Reclaimed and improved bog land so that I would have no business neglecting it. Mr. Doran was badly able to walk it four years since. It is a hard case that a man would not be allowed work or pay if others could prevent him.

“Yours sincerely,

“EDMOND CASEY.”

“Honoured Sir,—Whoever will reach you this enclosed an answer on writing where and what time during the day I can see you in private outside of the office in order to let the people scatter. I will wait for the last train to Farranfore, so you can fix the most convenient place I can see you at leisure. It would not be safe for me to go near the office. Travel Ireland, and you would not meet a greater set of blackguards than there is around me. I have some money to give you belonging to a neighbouring old woman with whom I am on friendly terms. I have some money to give you myself also, as well as to speak about some other matters. Be sure that the message will be private, as I don’t know who I may give it to. Whether you would put some recent date in my book for the last rent. Put a stamp or more in your pocket.

“Yours sincerely,

“EDMOND CASEY.”

“Reanasup, Gneeveguillea, Rathmore,

“February 2nd, 1886.

“Dear Sir,—You may consider me too persevering in writing thus, but, Sir, you should kindly remember that I have received two documents from the Estate Office, and being suspected before, should these turn out to be false, what, then, would be the consequence? I have no hesitation in saying that my life would be seriously in danger in these desperate times and this still more desperate district when every farmer in my townland is ejected in Court and expecting eviction. As I have previously stated, I am more than willing to pay all expenses incurred. You will please send a reply, for safety, to my daughter’s address in the enclosed envelope. I have again to implore you to act kindly as I have requested, or in some other manner which yourself may know, in which it would be believed I paid

no rent for the present gale, to save me in these terrible times from personal violence, or, worse still, from boycotting, for which I will ever feel thankful, and perhaps may at some future period kindly repay your kindness and consideration. Wishing to be excused for the length of this letter, which you will please keep a dead secret.

“I beg to remain, dear Sir,

“Your most obedient Servant,

“JOHN HERLIHY.”

“Inchcallane, December 24th, 1885.

“Dear Sir,—I have enclosed two cheques for rent on account for myself and Timothy Sheehan of Rathmore. My cheque is £23 and Timothy Sheehan’s cheque is £10, which you will please receive on account, and stop all further law proceedings, as you are well aware how dangerous it is for us to do so in paying so much which at the present time we could not on any account pay any more at present. Please send an acknowledgment by post to each.

“I remain, dear Sir,

“Yours respectfully,

“PATRICK LYNCH.”

“Gneeveguillea, Rathmore,

“December 20th, 1885.

“Dear Sir,—I have to earnestly request that you send by post to me at your earliest convenience a notice to pay the November rent. You will please state that you would have me served already for its recovery were it not for the decent manner I behaved in the payment of the arrears due of Mr. M’Sweeney at the time I purchased the farm, You will, I trust, kindly oblige as the state of this part of

the country is so desparate that a man's life or property is not safe at the present time.

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your humble Servant,

“ JEREMIAH MURPHY.”

“ Rathmore, April 10th, 1886.

“ Dear Sir,—Enclosed you have a draft on the Provincial Bank, Cork, for £13 13s. 3d., amount of the last November sale, after deducting poor-rates and statement, the receipt of which I also enclose. I should not think it safe for me to go to Killarney on account of the rent agitation that prevails at present. Please send me the receipt by post to Farranfore.

“ Yours faithfully.

“ JOHN HORAN.”

NO RENT.

“ January 4th, 1881.

“ Michael Lyons, if you don't 'umbly give up the herding for Joe Hogan also working for him, if not by Heavens you will fall by it! You know——well he has been boycotted by the public at least. I won't notice any person from this forth but take them down. By G——! you don't know the minute from this forth. If ever you are seen entering Billy Hogan's shop or working for either him or Joe you may lose your life by it, for I will noon, night and morning, and I will meet you perhaps outside the barrack door. A nod is as good as a wink for a blind horse. You know my principal.

“ (Signed) RORY OF THE HILL.”

"To the people of Ireland. — The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organization that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared unlawful and criminal. A reign of terror has commenced. Meet the action of the English Government with determined passive resistance. The No Rent banner has been raised, and it remains with the people now to prove themselves dastards or men.

"Pay no Rent.

"Avoid the Land Court.

"Such is the programme now before the country. Adopt it and it will lead you to free land and happy homes. Reject it and slavery and degradation will be your portion.

"Pay No Rent.

"The person who does should be visited with the severest sentence of social ostracism.

"Avoid the Land Court.

"Cast out the person who enters it as a renegade to his country, and to the cause of his fellow men.

"Hold the Harvest

is the watch word. To do that effectually you should, as far as possible, turn it into money. Sell your stock when such a course will not entail a loss. Make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interests in your farms. A short and sharp struggle now and the vilest oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away.

"No Rent.

"Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance, and

"Pay No Rent.

"No Rent.

"The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous

move in their power, and that is to quietly stay at home and pay no rent. I believe that if they unitedly adopted a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known.'—Nassau William Senior, Professor Political Economy, University of Oxford.

" ' I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis to your Majesty when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law, but how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for rent or tithes upon millions of tenants? '—The Duke of Wellington to the King.

" ' The land, therefore, of any country is the common property of the people of that country because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them.'—Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath.

" Pay No Rent,

" By order,

" PATRICK EGAN, Treasurer."

These agitators thus declare that the land is the common property of the people and yet only they or their friends are to own it; *they* might take it by force, sell it, spend the money, take it by force again, and sell it and so on, as long as force would last. This is the logic of their scheme!

"To Mr. Dick.—Dear Sir,—It is reported in our town that you are going to take the farm of Gandy, in Manister, and another small farm in the village of Kilronan. I thought you got enough of land before it, but it seems you did not. But if you have anything to do with land this time it is not the same as before. You will get something

that will make you a little quiet and take some of the wax out of your head; and if you and your sisters go to Galway you will not ever leave it until ye are in corpse. So don't have anything to do with this land. It is not the times. The Arran men give me a very bad account of you, that you are a good landgrabber, but your landgrabbing is over if I get one sight of you in this town, or interfering with any person except your own private business, you——beggar. Mind yours. if you do not I will mind you. Yours, a man for Ireland and a true man. What I say is true, and in this note is the coffin where you will go."

"Take notice that Joe and Billy Hogan, both of Crossmolina, are boycotted for endeavouring to tarnish the reputation of C. S. Parnell and his co-labourers, and any person known to have any communication, buying, selling or working for said men will meet their deserved end. Now is the time to show the Government and your enemies that you are determined to win. Now or never you must be free. Down with your enemies. Cut off the Hogans. The land for the people."

THE LETTERS AND RICHARD PIGOTT.

IN the course of the "Times" articles, which were known as "Parnellism and Crime," that paper published a few *facsimile* letters which had come into its possession, and which it believed were written by Mr. Parnell, Michael Davitt, Patrick Egan, and F. Byrne. So much attention had been directed to these letters by the general Press that when their authenticity became the subject of investigation before the Special Commission, the public mind seemed focussed upon them as if they alone could determine the result of the whole enquiry. The object of the Special Commission was to ascertain whether there was any

connection between Mr. Parnell and his party and the outrages which, since 1879, had disgraced Ireland before the civilized world. In consequence of the paramount importance wrongly attributed to these letters, a portion of the Press regarded the unsatisfactory nature of Pigott's evidence as a collapse of the enquiry.

The "Times" had received the letters from Mr. Houston, Secretary to the Loyal and Patriotic Union, who had received them from Richard Pigott.

Pigott is thus described by the "Standard" of February 21st, 1889:—"Then, at a quarter to three, came the climax of this part of the case in the appearance of Mr. Richard Pigott, a well-dressed, white-bearded, bald-headed, benevolent looking gentleman, who gave his age as 54, but looks much older. He stated that he became proprietor of the 'Irishman,' a Fenian organ, in 1865, and was sentenced to twelve months—afterwards reduced to six—imprisonment in 1868 for an article on the Manchester executions of the previous year. He was a member of the Supreme Council of the Fenian Brotherhood, and he mentioned the names of several who were associated with him in the same body. Most of the members of the Amnesty Association of 1870 were Fenians, and Mr. Parnell was one of them. In about 1871 or 1872 Mr. Biggar, M.P., Mr. Barry, M.P., and Mr. Matt Harris, M.P., were members of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and so were James Carey, James Mullett, and David Murphy. Witness continued a member of the I.R.B. down to August, 1881, but he was never an active one. He remembered the release in 1878 of Robert Kelly, who shot Detective Talbot in Dublin in 1871. There was a reception committee formed to greet him, the chairman of which was Brennan, and the treasurer Carey. Egan told him that if the Land League were suppressed, they proposed to make the lives

of English officials in Ireland not worth an hour's purchase, and when witness asked whether Mr. Parnell was aware of all this, Egan said that of course he was."

In the course of Pigott's examination-in-chief, the Attorney-General, in reference to the letters alleged to be written by Mr. Parnell, said:—

"I must put this specific question to you. Had you anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the writing of those letters?—Nothing whatever.

"You have heard the suggestion that you forged those letters. Is it true or not?—It is quite untrue.

"Did you know Patrick Egan's signature?—Yes; I know his writing generally.

"Look at these letters. Can you form any opinion whose is the handwriting of the Egan letters?—I say that they were written by himself.

"You have no doubt about it?—Not the slightest."

The "Standard" of February 22nd, 1889, thus summarises some of the examination-in-chief of Pigott—"Pigott wrote to Mr. Labouchere from Dublin without the knowledge of Mr. Houston. Mr. Labouchere replied, appointing his own house as the rendezvous. He went there on the 24th October, and found Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Parnell. The latter at once told him that he held proofs which would convict witness of forgery, and asked what he was going to do. Pigott replied that if Mr. Lewis could be induced to withdraw the subpoena, it might be possible for him to avoid going into the box at all. Mr. Parnell said that that could not be done, and then Pigott alleged, Mr. Labouchere made the plain proposition that he should say he had forged the letters, and secure his certificate from the Commissioners by the simple procedure of going into the box, making such a statement on oath, and walking out again. The member for North-

ampton added that by doing this witness would become immensely popular in Ireland, and that if ever he wanted to go to the United States he would be received with a torchlight procession. At one portion of the interview Mr. Labouchere took him aside and said that he must not mention money before Mr. Parnell, because it would be illegal to do so to a principal. Mr. Parnell, in the course of this remarkable conversation, was appealing to witness's self-interest, when, to Pigott's surprise, the door opened, and in walked Mr. George Lewis. This showed him that the whole business was simply a 'plant.' Mr. Lewis, 'assuming his severest air,' at once denounced Pigott as a forger, and said he had unmistakable proofs of the fact. He accused witness of having received many letters from Mr. Parnell in 1881-82, and of having copied words and phrases out of them to make up the forgeries. Mr. Lewis said they were prepared to offer him £1000. Nothing, however, he now said, would have induced him to go into the box and swear falsely. Mr. Lewis suggested that he should write to the 'Times,' and state that he believed the letters to be forgeries, and that he had forged them himself. Shortly after this the interview came to an end, but it appears that the next day Mr. Lewis called upon him at his hotel, heard the statement which he had made to the 'Times,' and took notes, upon the basis of which he drew up a statement which was now read in Court, and all the most important passages in which Pigott denounced as absolutely false."

The cross-examination of Pigott by Sir Charles Russell is in part thus summarised by the "Standard" of February 23rd, 1889:—"Further, he said that he had about the time referred to written a strong letter of remonstrance to Mr. Houston against the publication of the letters, and Mr. Houston, standing up in Court, said

that he did not recollect having received such a letter. In closing the correspondence, Pigott expressed his regret that the Archbishop would not accept his 'latest proposition.' What was this? Here again, in broken, inaudible tones, the witness expressed his inability to recollect. 'Do you believe the Parnell letters to be genuine?' asked Sir Charles, and then followed another remarkable admission—'No, I do not; because I could not recognise the handwriting of anyone.' And the Egan letters? Yes, they, he believed, were genuine, because he knew the writing. Then he again swore he was not the fabricator of the Parnell letters."

The Court adjourned from Friday, February 22nd, to Tuesday, February 26th, when it became known that Pigott had absconded.

On Saturday, February 23rd, Pigott went to the house of Mr. Labouchere—Mr. Parnell's friend—and Mr. Labouchere sent for Mr. G. A. Sala as a witness, and Pigott then made a confession, which is thus referred to by the "Standard":—"In this confession Pigott admits that there was no truth in the statement that he had made notes at the time of his conversation with Eugene Davis at Lausanne; it was also false that Davis had ever told him of the existence of the letter alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell. He went on to confess the forgeries he had committed, and to explain the manner in which they had been done. In some cases he copied words and phrases from genuine letters of Mr. Parnell and Egan in his possession, and in others held the paper against the window and traced the words from these letters. Houston paid him after a very brief inspection. Pigott further stated that he is now of opinion that Mr. Labouchere did not offer him a thousand pounds to swear that he had committed the forgeries, but that the offer was made for

any documents written by Mr. Parnell or Egan which might be in his possession."

When this had been read—at the meeting of the Special Commission on Tuesday, February 26th—the Attorney-General rose to make a carefully-prepared and written statement. Premising that the letters came into the hands of the manager of the "Times" through Pigott, and Pigott alone, to whose testimony he admitted not the least weight was to be attached, the learned counsel went on to say that the course which he and his friends ought to take seemed to them to be clearly defined. Therefore, he formally asked permission to withdraw from the consideration of the Court the question of the genuineness of the letters, "with the full knowledge that, after the evidence given, we are not entitled to say that they are genuine." Any expression of regret on his part might be open to misinterpretation; but those for whom he appeared none the less desired him to express their sincere regret that these letters were published, and to say that at the proper time they would give further expression to that regret. But that he did not desire to enter into controversial matter, he might have said much as to the way in which his clients had been imposed upon. One matter he must allude to. Sir Charles Russell expressed on Tuesday his belief that behind Pigott there was a foul conspiracy. If that was the case, those whom he represented knew nothing of it. They had been misled and imposed upon, and that, no doubt, was their fault; but if it was to be suggested that they were guilty of anything else, they invited the fullest investigation at their Lordships' hands.

The "Times," in a leading article on February 28th, 1889, fully endorsed the speech of the Attorney-General, and added—"It is clear now that Pigott was guilty of a gross and disgraceful fraud when he produced the docu-

ments which reached our hands. Into the circumstances under which we received and published them it is scarcely fitting we should enter. Nor shall we now refer to the grounds, apart from Pigott's testimony, on which we considered ourselves to be justified in dealing with these letters as genuine documents. To do so would be to touch upon controversial matter which cannot for the present be properly dealt with in these columns. We are bound, however, to point out that though Pigott was the source from which the letters came, and though they were thus contaminated by their origin, he was not the person with whom we communicated, and who placed the documents in our hands. Moreover, we must add that we firmly believed the letters to be genuine until the disclosures made by Pigott in the course of his cross-examination.

"We heard, on Tuesday, of a conspiracy behind Pigott, and Houston, but it must be evident to all reasonable persons that, if a conspiracy existed, the 'Times' was victimised by it, and not a party to it. Errors in judgment may have been committed, and for them the penalty must be paid. What we have done, it must be clearly understood, has been done by us in the public interest alone. It has been done, moreover, altogether of our own motion and upon our own responsibility. We regarded the undertaking on which we entered as one of national importance, but we must enter an emphatic protest against attempts to make any statesmen or any political party conjointly responsible with us for acts which were exclusively our own."

The Government took vigorous steps to find Pigott, and communicated with the various continental centres, which resulted in his arrest at Madrid, a few days after his flight from London. When the police agent presented himself in the apartment of the Hôtel los Embajadores,

which Pigott occupied, and told his errand, the latter merely said, through the interpreter, "Very well, allow me to get my hat, and I will go with you." The officer made no objection to his entering the alcove where, as is customary in Spain, the bed is placed. Scarcely half-a-minute elapsed before the report of a revolver startled the two watchers at the door. The deceased had placed the pistol to his mouth, and the ball passed through the brain and out at the occiput, death being instantaneous. It is probable that he had determined on suicide in the event of capture.

A letter was found upon the body of Pigott, addressed to Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Parnell's friend, which stated that the first batch of letters sold to the "Times" by Pigott were genuine, but that in the second bundle he had included several forged letters, among them being two alleged to have been signed by Mr. Parnell, one by Mr. Davitt, one by Mr. O'Kelly, and one by Mr. Egan. Pigott added that the greater part of his evidence before the Special Commission was false, but that what he affirmed under oath in writing was true.

Although the "Times" accepted the position because it was unable to prove the letters to have been written by those whose signatures they bore, yet a wide spread opinion prevailed that a great mystery is attached to the whole affair.

The "Globe" remarked:—"We should say that the great majority is of opinion that the allegations of the 'Times' concerning the letters, though certainly unsubstantiated, have not been disproved. Probably the true story of those letters will remain for ever among historical mysteries."

Pigott first swore in open Court before the Judges and Counsel that the letters were not forged.

Then at the private house of Mr. Labouchere (Mr. Parnell's friend!!!) he said that they were forged.

Then he ultimately and apparently, in the face of death (for his pistol was loaded for self-destruction and ready for use at the moment of his arrest), declared that some of them were genuine and some were forged.

It is widely believed that Pigott's last statement is the true one. The public cannot believe that he told **ALL** a lie in open Court and **ALL** the truth in a private way in the private house of one of Mr. Parnell's friends.

Neither can the public believe that his statement made in the face of death was true in so far as it favoured Mr. Parnell and false in so far as it favoured the "Times."

Since the commencement of the Special Commission, Mr. Parnell brought an action against the "Times" in Scotland, which went against him, and then brought an action against the "Times" in Ireland, which was dismissed. The public feel that if Mr. Parnell had not compromised himself in some way he would, *before* the Special Commission was appointed, have accepted the repeated challenge of the "Times," and commenced an action *then*, and not have left it till he found out how much the "Times" knew, for it came out in evidence that Mr. Parnell, and his friend Mr. Labouchere, had had interviews with Pigott before that man's examination at the Special Commission.

The following letter appeared in the "Globe" of March 4th, 1889 :—"There are thousands of persons in England who are still unconvinced that the mystery attaching to the Pigott letters is finally elucidated, and who believe, further, that the whole truth will probably never come to light until the following points are satisfactorily disposed of :—

"First.—On what grounds is Pigott's latest utterance—his confession of forgery—to be unquestionably accepted,

in view of the countless other confessions, accusations, contradictions, and retraction by which he has already proved himself a most unexampled liar?

"Secondly.—What took place between Mr. Labouchere and Pigott at Grosvenor Gardens last Saturday prior to Mr. Sala's arrival? And by what right does Mr. Labouchere meddle with witnesses behind the back of the Court?

"The simple fact is that, while the 'Times' has failed to prove its case, its case has not hitherto been disproved; nor will it ever be until Messrs. Parnell and Labouchere have been cross-examined, and the above points sifted to the bottom."

The "New York Herald" of February 27th, 1889, says:—"Whatever the verdict of the Parnell Commission, credit is due to the 'Times' for having alone, single-handed, with no possible motive but high public duty, entered upon a costly, harassing, and thankless task. The director of the 'Times' is as much entitled to the respect and confidence of English gentlemen as the Lord Chancellor or the Prime Minister. He directs a great trust—as much an institution of England as the House of Commons—a trust identified for a century with England in all her hopes, successes, and disasters. If he believed that he could make good the charge that a revolutionary party in English politics had descended to worse than revolutionary methods—had made assassination a weapon and an argument—it was surely courageous to spare neither money nor pains to prove his case.

"It was a thankless, because, unless looked at from the highest standard of journalism, an unnecessary task. There is journalism and journalism. The 'Times,' rich, respected, powerful, with nothing to gain by controversy, and nothing to lose by silence, had simply to go on print-

ing the news, amassing money and paying dividends in a fat, lazy, irresponsible way, caring little whether Mr. Parnell was in Downing Street or the Tower, so long as the money came in. It preferred the controversy. The battle has been severe, the expenditure of money vast, without the hope of gaining a new subscriber or a new advertisement. The disclosures yesterday would indicate that it has lost its case. And the losing would be a gratification to all who would believe that men who direct great political movements are not assassins. But, in frankness and justice let it be said that the 'Times' made a stern, lavish, honourable, heroic contest, to be remembered, as it will surely be, to the honour of that journalism, which, in a sense of duty to the people, finds no labour a sacrifice."

We fully endorse the opinion of the "New York Herald." The public believe that the "Times" was actuated only by the highest motives, and that the action it took in its series of articles was *bonâ fide* taken in the public interests to put down the fearful atrocities resulting from a long-continued lawless agitation. Mr. Joseph Soames, the eminent solicitor to the "Times," had worked, as his evidence disclosed, 12 and 13 hours a day for many months in his efforts to bring to light and so suppress the cruelties of a lawless conspiracy. It was necessary for him to see criminals to learn of the acts of criminals, and it is not much to wonder at that in his selection of evidence he did not come across all persons who were as truthful and honourable as he himself is universally admitted to be by all who know him.

A very mysterious incident occurred in reference to Pigott's papers. in his house at Sandycove, near Kingstown. Two men called there and told the house-keeper that they were bailiffs. When once in possession these men opened a desk and drawers, and abstracted

Pigott's diary and a number of letters. These papers might have been very useful for the "Times" case, but they were stolen!

It is of great importance that the public should know that the evidence of atrocities brought before the Special Commission was not a tithe of the evidence which had been collected.

The records only extended to "five" counties, and did not cover the whole of the cases even in those.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL'S OPENING OF THE DEFENCE.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL's speech, in opening the case for Mr. Parnell, contained very long extracts from history, Parliamentary Commissions, newspaper reports, Hansard, etc. It was a tremendous strain to turn the real issue of the enquiry from the connection between the incendiary speeches of the accused Irish speakers and the long list of atrocities with which the public are so painfully familiar. Early in his speech Sir Charles Russell, referring to Mr. Soames' office, said: "Lincoln's Inn Fields has at times presented much the appearance of a camping ground, for that military force, known as the Royal Irish Constabulary, collected there to form the *posse comitatus* of a sheriff on his way to carry out an eviction in Ireland." Those who, like the writer, have had to pass Mr. Soames' office twice every day on the way to and from his own office, know how very exaggerated this statement is, and will not be surprised to find the same principle prominent in other parts of the speech.

Sir Charles Russell picked out pieces from Mr. Lecky's second volume; Mr. Froude's "The English in Ireland," and Mr. Goldwin Smith's "Irish History and Irish

Causes." Our readers who have read Mr. Froude's book, will judge whether the deductions Sir Charles Russell drew from it were reasonable from the *general* tenour of the work. Sir Charles Russell laid great stress on the words "within living memory," which he often repeated, and which were intended to convey that "within living memory," which would go back, say fifty, sixty, or seventy years, injustices had existed in Ireland; but how such could justify continued violence and murder during the last few years, when greater advantages had been given to Ireland than to any other part of the Queen's dominions, he did not attempt to explain. Sir Charles Russell went very close to justifying the atrocities, and described the case for the "Times" as "a contemptible case of wretched threads and patches."

Contemptible enough were the atrocities which the case exposed! The general intelligence of Great Britain takes a different view of the relative merits of the case for and against the "Times" than that which Sir Charles Russell would have the public believe should be generally taken. The public can appreciate the relative bearings of violent speeches and violent acts.

Sir Charles Russell, in his peroration, said, "We have had to defend the leaders of a *nation*." (?) He further said that the case of the "Times" was a design "to ruin one man, and it has been his vindication." This is a most unfair statement of the position. The "Times" no more *designed* the ruin of Mr. Parnell than it designed the ruin of Sir Charles Russell. Its *design* was to expose and suppress the awful atrocities in Ireland, which for some years past have stirred up the sympathy of Englishmen who love freedom and loyalty; and Sir Charles Russell must know that quite well.

The "Times" had no personal feeling against Mr.

Parnell as an individual, but it had the strongest feeling of reprobation and contempt for whatever of his public acts and speeches, and those of his followers, which have encouraged the abominations of inhuman cruelties referred to.

The "Times" also had the greatest pity for the sufferers.

The "Times," by its masterly articles day after day, year after year, at length stirred up a vacillating Government to take the helm, as it ought to have taken it years before, and by its courageous perseverance did so far encourage the powers that be, that a Balfour was produced, and Mr. Balfour has been as much a Deliverer to Ireland as was Gideon to Israel against the Midianites.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL AND THE BAR OF ENGLAND.

ON the 13th of April, 1889, the annual general meeting of the Bar of England was held in the Old Dining Hall, Lincoln's Inn, under the Presidency of Sir Richard E. Webster, Q.C., M.P., the Attorney-General. The total attendance was variously estimated at from 600 to 900 barristers, and but few of the practising members of the profession were absent. The Attorney-General was received with great and unanimous enthusiasm, as an expression of the feeling of the Bar generally towards him in consequence of the ungenerous and unjust imputations put upon him in reference to the Pigott letters.

Mr. S. Pope, Q.C., said that he "intensely disagreed" with the Attorney-General's opinions, but in proposing a vote of thanks to him for presiding on that occasion, said:—

"It has always appeared to me to be one of the finest characteristics of the English Bar that widely differing as

we do in opinion, and frequently inevitably brought into personal conflict, we are yet able to preserve the respect and admiration—I may almost say the affectionate regard—we entertain for the leaders of the profession. (Cheers.) Of course, they are subject to criticism. As an old member of the Northern Circuit, I should be very reluctant to relinquish the right of the junior to criticize the performance of his senior. (Cheers and laughter.) I daresay every one of us in times past, and even yet occasionally, feels that if he had the opportunity he could conduct a particular case with much greater dignity and ability than those who are in charge of it. (Laughter.) But, at least, we generally are able to distinguish in our criticisms between errors of judgment and personal or professional misconduct. (Cheers again and again renewed.) Those of us who enjoy the honour of the personal friendship of Sir Richard Webster (cheers) know what a good, true, and loyal comrade he is (loud cheers), absolutely incapable of intentional cruelty or of professional disgrace or dishonour. (Cheers.) And those to whom he is only the Attorney-General, the acknowledged head of our great profession, may rest well assured that the high traditions and integrity and honour of that profession will never be tarnished in his hands." (Loud cheers.)

Sir James Parker Deane, Q.C., the Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury, seconded the proposal in the same strain and was followed by as earnest cheering.

A banquet was given to Sir Richard Webster, the Attorney-General, Q.C., M.P., on May 29th, 1889, at the Holborn Town Hall, by the solicitors' branch of the legal profession, following up the tribute paid by the barristers' branch, as an acknowledgment of their sense of his high character, both personally and professionally, and in repudiation of the aspersions which had been cast

upon him. An address was presented to Sir Richard Webster, signed by 3800 representatives of the solicitors of England. More than 400 solicitors attended the dinner, and the speeches made were worthy of the man whom the assembly delighted to honour.

MR. PARNELL'S EXAMINATION.

MR. CHARLES STEWART PARNELL was examined, and said that he was born in 1846 (Davitt was born in the same year). He denied having ever applied for membership of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, at which Major Le Caron, who was in Court, smiled. He made forty or fifty speeches in America on the Irish Land Question. He admitted having recommended boycotting and that tenants should refuse to pay rent, but denied having recommended outrages, and also denied all knowledge of the Phoenix Park atrocities.

On the first day (May 1st, 1889) of the cross-examination by Sir Richard Webster, Mr. Parnell admitted that he wanted to destroy landlordism and he did not consider it his duty to exclude anyone from the League because of their antecedents.

The "Daily Chronicle" of May 2 thus referred to this day's examination:—"Then Sir R. Webster began with a question founded on a paragraph in the very first number of 'United Ireland.' Though Mr. Parnell was the chief proprietor of the paper, he had never seen this, which was a ferocious warning from O'Donovan Rossa, who invoked the scattered members of the Clan-na-Gael to slay evicting landlords without pity. The Attorney-General was of opinion this referred to the organised body called Clan-na-Gael; the witness insisted this phrase was a common name

for the Irish race all over the world, and that the Clan-na-Gael Society was not identified with dynamite or murder. Then began a long effort on the part of counsel to pin the witness to the fact that he had received money from the 'Irish World' while it was advocating the use of dynamite and physical force. Mr. Parnell stuck to it that the 'Irish World' had been opposed to his parliamentary movement, and when confronted by passage after passage in which his work was praised, strangely enough could not remember them. Indeed, according to his own showing, Mr. Parnell has either the most treacherous memory in the world or he was always in ignorance of utterances of his colleagues and co-workers, with which all the rest of the world was made acquainted through what Lord Beaconsfield used to call 'the usual sources of information.' What the witness did not know about the Parnell movement was apparently far in excess of what he did. There has been no such exhibition of obliviousness since the famous court-martial in the 46th Regiment, when all the officers in succession were found to suffer from loss of memory. But this much was made clear, that large sums of money were accepted through the 'Irish World' while it was advocating outrage. . . . It seemed also that money had been taken from the miscreant Mooney, who wrote over the signature 'Transatlantic' the foulest kind of incitement to outrage. . . . In point of fact, whenever counsel wanted to know anything very particularly, it was most unfortunate that the witness had no knowledge or recollection of it. So many things were, in Mr. Parnell's phrase, 'possible,' that the Attorney-General could get no definite information whether they had been actual or not. When he met the physical force men in America he made no inquiries, took them for granted, and presently avowed that as he hoped to bring

them all under the constitutional movement, he had taken no objection to anything in their past. A well-known manifesto published in Dublin, and signed by Devoy and others, had, strangely enough, slipped Mr. Parnell's memory, among other things, though its terms sounded very familiar to ordinary readers of newspapers. . . . Then he was oblivious once more about a speech at Lynn, in Massachusetts, in which Ireland's opportunity was said to be when England had been brought to her knees in a war. If he had used such words they must have been intended to convey what was in his mind in case constitutional action failed. But just before the adjournment he was confronted with the recollection of the occasion in Detroit, where a man gave him 'five dollars for bread, and twenty for lead.' Amid the incredulous titter of a crowded Court the witness said he thought the five dollars were for charity, and the twenty for the Land League or constitutional movement. He did not think 'lead' was a good word to describe this movement; but he was very glad to get the money anyhow. There was another awkward passage about his indifference whether the Irish people got the land by paying for it to-day or by force of arms to-morrow."

During portions of the next two days of examination the writer was in Court and observed that Mr. Parnell had a very different personal bearing to most of his Irish associates in the Home Rule movement. He is always calm and collected, so that his inability to give straightforward answers to many of the Attorney-General's questions did not arise from what is commonly known as being "flurried." His bearing and manner are superior, and his postures and movements often elegant.

He gave evidence of the great discomfort the cross-examination gave him; he looked pale, and at times very

anxious; now and then he smiled, but it seemed more forced than natural. It appeared to the writer as if the conflict in his mind was as to how much he could defeat the object of the cross-examination by an apparent candour but a real evasiveness; how he could frame his answers so as to damage the physical force party as little as possible, and retain the good opinion of all factions of Home Rulers on both sides of the Atlantic, and yet to justify himself before the Commissioners.

The Attorney-General's manly, candid bearing, the incisive form of his questions, and the prevarications of the witness, produced a profound impression on the persons in Court, and filled his opponents with an apprehension betrayed by their uneasiness. The Attorney-General was frequently interrupted by counsel on the other side, besides which they kept up a "running comment," as the President rebukingly expressed it, which he said must be "exceedingly inconvenient" to the counsel conducting the cross-examination; and the Attorney-General remarked:—"I have been seriously personally inconvenienced by the constant interruptions on the part of my learned friends for the last three days. I am quite sure, however, that it was not intentional, and if I hear no more of them I will not say anything further about it."

Mrs. and Miss Gladstone, and Archbishop Walsh, of the Roman Catholic Church, were sitting in the jury box day after day, just behind the witness box where Mr. Parnell was standing.

Mr. Parnell seemed to object to the term "*Fenian*," and when the Attorney-General referred to such persons Mr. Parnell called them "*the physical force party*," upon which the Attorney-General agreed to adopt that phrase, if it pleased Mr. Parnell better, but he added it must be

understood that in speaking of the physical force party, Fenians were meant.

The Attorney-General had the greatest difficulty in getting a straightforward answer from Mr. Parnell, and it required a great many questions put in a great many ways to arrive at an intelligent reply.

The following is an example taken from the "Times" report :—

You stated yesterday that you never knew Mr. Joseph Nolan, the member for Louth, till the year 1885? Yes.

Are you clear about that? Quite clear about that.

Was Mr. Nolan a Fenian? I do not know.

Do you pledge your word, sir, that you did not know Mr. Nolan was a Fenian? I do not know; he never told me so.

I did not say he told you so. Do I understand you to say that you had no impression or belief one way or the other that he was a Fenian? I had certainly an impression that he was connected with the physical force party in the old times.

I do not mind adopting your phrase. By connection with the physical force party you mean a Fenian? Yes; that is what they were called.

Very well; I will adopt either form of expression, provided it is understood. When did you first know of Mr. Nolan being connected with the physical force party? As I have already told you, I have never known of it. I have heard it spoken of in a gossiping way among members of the party.

When did you first hear it spoken of in a gossiping way among members of the party? I should think about the time when the question arose before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

Do you mean last year? That was last year.

That is to say, when the question came up before the Select Committee about the introduction of some strangers to the House of Commons who were believed to be dynamitards? There was a good deal of talk about Mr. Nolan at that time.

That is the sort of thing that would impress itself upon you. I may take it that the introduction of those men, Melville and Harkins, did create a good deal of stir, and it was then that you first heard that Mr. Nolan was connected with the physical force party? Yes.

By this it will be seen that Mr. Parnell first said that he did not know whether Nolan was a Fenian, then he fenced—then he had to admit it by a direct “Yes.”

The manner of his evidence conveyed the impression that he had an immense deal to hide, and was in great fear as to what might be extracted from him.

Mr. Parnell admitted his connection with many persons well known as violent agitators, and he had to confess that he had never publicly, by speech or writing, denounced their utterances, with one exception, that in 1883 he made a speech in the House of Commons in which he repudiated the notorious Patrick Ford. Mr. Parnell, therefore, appeared to consider that one expression on that one occasion fully justified him in his connection with men of violent characters without his ever publicly repudiating their atrocious speeches.

As an example, Mr. Parnell was associated with J. T. Finerty in America.

The Attorney-General asked:—Did you know that Finerty was a member of the Clan-na-Gael, and if so, when first? We had heard of Finerty being a notorious man, making loud speeches about dynamite, but I do not know I ever heard him to be a member of the Clan-na-Gael.

When did you first know that he was a notorious man, making loud speeches about dynamite? After the dynamite movement in 1883.

Mr. Parnell then admitted that he had never repudiated him.

The "Standard," May 4th, thus referred to part of the examination of the preceding day:—"Mr. Parnell could not recollect having ever denounced outrage in Ireland between 1878 and 1881, nor had he denounced secret societies, or cautioned his followers against joining them, although he believed that these secret societies were the authors of all the murders and mutilations that were going on at that time.

"All this, it was soon clear, was by way of introduction to an important point, the full development of which, led up to as it had been by the Attorney-General in a masterly fashion, constituted the most remarkable incident in the cross-examination, and produced a decidedly painful impression on the whole Court. Point by point the witness had been urged on, till he had sworn emphatically to the continued existence and activity of secret societies in the years 1879, '80 and '81, and to the belief that these societies were the authors of the crimes against which Mr. Forster's Act was directed. This was 'certainly' his opinion at the time, and he had never held any other. To that he 'pledged his word.' The Attorney-General then quoted from 'Hansard' a speech of Mr. Parnell in the debate on Mr. Forster's Bill on January 7th, 1881. As one of his arguments against the Bill Mr. Parnell said that secret societies had ceased to exist in Ireland. 'Did you believe that?' asked the Attorney-General. 'No,' coolly replied the witness, 'at any rate it was a grossly exaggerated statement.' There was a buzz of surprise at this throughout the Court. 'Did you or did you not,' continued

the Attorney-General, 'intend to mis-state a fact when you made that statement?' 'I have no doubt I did,' was the reply. 'Deliberately?' 'Deliberately; quite possible,' said Mr. Parnell, with the most cynical nonchalance, and the renewed expression of astonishment was mingled with not a few hisses. 'You deliberately made that statement, knowing it to be untrue?' 'Yes; or, if not untrue, very extravagant and boastful.' 'And you have never from that day to this withdrawn it?' 'No, I have not,' replied the witness, leaving the audience in a state of very considerable astonishment indeed at this revelation, coming as it did after so many protestations by Mr. Parnell of his perfect straightforwardness."

The books of the League could not be found; the Attorney-General had pressed for them; Mr. Parnell had promised to try to find them, but had not succeeded, which brought the remark from the President that the Commission attached very great importance to the books, and hoped that every effort would be made to produce them.

In reference to Mr. Parnell's statement about his intention to deceive the House of Commons, he explained at the next meeting of the Commission that he had been alluding to the Ribbon Societies, which began to crumble away in 1872, and not to the Fenian Organizations.

The next sitting was thus referred to by the "Standard":—"An incidental reference by the witness to a letter from Mr. Matthew Harris, applying for money for the defence of prisoners, led to some severe remarks from two of the Judges as to the conduct of Mr. Parnell's solicitor and counsel in not advising him to disclose certain documents relative to the case. 'We now learn,' said Sir James Hannen, 'for the first time of a shorthand book of letters of Mr. Parnell dealing with the Land League.' The book, he said later, 'ought to have been disclosed, and Mr.

Parnell's attention ought to have been called to it.' Sir Charles Russell tried for a little to fence with this judicial censure, professing not to understand the point, but he only succeeded in drawing on himself a still more emphatic rebuke from Mr. Justice Smith. The matter then dropped for a little, but, as usual, when Sir Charles Russell gets the worst of such discussions, he displayed an irritability and want of control which culminated, later on, in a most discreditable scene. When the re-examination had closed the Attorney-General put some questions to Mr. Parnell about his knowledge of a number of persons, most of whom, by implication, were connected with the physical force movement. The witness answered these interrogatories in a facetious, not to say a flippant, manner, which caused some laughter in Court, and obliged the President, in stern tones, to order that these exhibitions of hilarity should be stopped.

"Sir R. Webster then went on to apply for a further affidavit of documents by Mr. Parnell and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and this very simple application, rendered necessary by the references to books and documents not before the Court, led to a violent outbreak on the part of Sir Charles Russell. The Attorney-General had called attention to certain names appearing on the counterfoils of Mr. Parnell's cheque books as proving the necessity for further explanations. Mr. Parnell wished to be cross-examined regarding these names at once. This the Attorney-General naturally refused to do until the further documents required were in his possession. Sir C. Russell supported Mr. Parnell's demand, and when the President had pointed out that his course was irregular, he loftily said, 'As your Lordship regulates the proceedings of this Court we defer to your opinion, but we hold our own opinion all the same.' 'We are not here,' replied Sir James Haunen, 'to

hear private opinions, but to see that the case is properly conducted.' 'All the same,' retorted Sir Charles Russell, 'we maintain our opinion.' 'I am aware you have said that,' warmly answered the President. 'It is a most improper mode of continuing a discussion, and one which I hope you will abandon.' Mr. Parnell then went on to make some explanation, when the President stopped him with the remark that he was following the example set him, and repeating that which was not called for. Then Sir Charles Russell, in an obvious passion, addressing the witness, said, 'Mr. Parnell, do you wish to be cross-examined about these accounts to-day?' 'Most certainly,' replied Mr. Parnell, but again the President interposed. 'It is not,' he said, 'a question of what Mr. Parnell desires, but of what we direct.' 'Well,' said Sir Charles, 'give us an explanation about these cheques.' 'We must stop this,' interrupted the President severely, 'and the best thing will be to adjourn Mr. Parnell's evidence until these documents are before us.' Eventually the incident ended with Sir Charles Russell's exit from the Court."

Sir Charles Russell made a suitable apology to the Commissioners at the next sitting, which the President accepted in the spirit in which it was offered.

As an example of the action of the Catholic clergy, we quote a portion of the examination of the Rev. J. P. Considine, before the Special Commission on May 10th, 1889, as reported in the "Times." He testified that the political meetings were generally held on Sundays after mass. He was examined by Mr. Murphy on the subject of boycotting. This reverend person had been president of the local branch of the Land League for some years.

You draw a distinction between intimidation and making it disagreeable for any one? Yes, I think there is a distinction.

What distinction? Take the case of a shopkeeper offending me, with whom I have been in the habit of dealing, by doing something which I may think injurious to the cause of the people; I cease to go near him, and so make it disagreeable to pursue a course like that.

Would you go so far as to prevent him from getting the necessities of life? I would not; I consider that wicked.

And sinful? Yes; so much so that in the case of a man who was in danger of not getting the necessities of life—an emergency man—I offered to provide them myself.

Did you ever have such a case? No, but I offered to do so if there was a necessity.

Those being your principles, I will call your attention to some of your own speeches. On the 12th of December, 1880, speaking at Craughwell, you say, “I tell you that the wretch who has not joined the League, that that man deserves to go down to the cold, dead damnation of disgrace.” That is pretty strong? Yes.

Did you use those words? It is possible.

Did you use them? I may have.

Have you any doubt about it? I never saw it in print.

Did you use that language? Very likely I did.

Do you regard that as an invitation to join the League voluntarily or involuntarily? Well, it does not involve any intimidation.

Is it an attempt by terrorism to force people to join the association? I do not consider so.

“I tell you that the wretch who has not joined the League, that that man deserves to go down to the cold, dead damnation of disgrace”? I considered it a disgraceful thing not to join the League.

Did you consider that that was the proper fate for anyone who did not join the Land League? Yes, to be an object of public disgrace.

No, no. "To go down to the cold, dead damnation of disgrace"? Well, it is rather a strong expression, I admit.

Did you believe that that was the proper fate for anyone who did not join the League? Well, I suppose I used it in order to induce them to join.

Did you use the expression in order to frighten the people? I suppose it was in order to induce them to join the League.

Or frighten them? You were the Catholic priest? No. Well, curate? Yes.

Of that parish? No.

Well, of the next parish? Yes.

Do you think that that mattered? Were you not perfectly well known to the audience you were addressing? Yes.

Are those the doctrines of the Church to which you belong? I suppose what I meant was that a man would stand disgraced among his fellows for not joining the League. That is what I meant to point out.

Is that your view of a constitutional agitation, that the priest of a neighbouring parish should come and tell the people that a man who would not join the League would go down to the cold, dead damnation of disgrace? I think it is quite constitutional to say that.

You are not ashamed of it now? No.

Now I will call your attention to a passage further on in the same speech. (Reading):—

"I wish I could speak swords that would pierce your very hearts and make every man and woman in the country join the Land League. It is the grandest movement. Join the Land League every one of you, let every man become a preacher of the Land League, whether in public or not. Let nothing escape from your lips but the Land League principles."

The examination of Father Egan is thus referred to by the "Standard":—

"Then came a good specimen of the 'fighting priest,' Father Egan of Loughrea and Woodford, of whom we have heard a great deal, and not much to his credit, in the earlier stages of the case. As president of the local branch of the League, he gave an account of its working. It was their custom to call before them any offending member, and, if satisfactory explanations were not forthcoming, to expel him. The notorious 'Dr.' Tully acted as a sort of prosecutor, and people who were dealt with by him were said to have taken his 'medicine.' Father Egan did not think it was because he had recommended 'leaden pills' for the landlords that this local shoemaker was called the 'Doctor.' He had heard of the 'pills,' he admitted afterwards in cross-examination, but did not think Tully had said they were to be 'leaden.' No one had ever charged Tully with inciting to outrage. The witness had a good many hard things to say about Lord Clanricarde, who not only did not contribute to the relief of the people on his estate at Woodford, but 'had not even the courtesy to answer a respectful letter signed by Tully and the secretaries of the committee.' Witness denounced from the altar the murder of Sergeant Linton at Loughrea, and other grave crimes also came under his condemnation. Father Egan was driving in the vicinity when Mr. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and his servant Ronan, were murdered in 1882. He gave Ronan absolution, and he died almost immediately. Mr. Blake was already dead. Father Egan went on to Loughrea to say mass, and at once denounced the crime from the altar. Subsequently he called upon Mrs. Blake, and he emphatically denied that there was any truth in the insinuation which had been made that he had shown a want of sympathy with

the lady in her sorrow. On the contrary, he had been thanked for his attention."

When Sir Charles Russell sat down, Father Egan was taken in hand by Mr. Atkinson, and the Court was treated to a remarkably keen and powerful piece of cross-examination, from which the reverend Father emerged with somewhat dragged plumage. He admitted that there was perfect peace in the Woodford district until he made his appearance there in August, 1885, and that from that time till 1887 there were some scores of people boycotted and under police protection. Then we had once more the story of the murder of Finlay, the old Crimean soldier, who was shot in cold blood by the roadside for the crime of process-serving. No one in Woodford would supply a coffin for the deceased, and his widow was boycotted for months. "Did you use your influence to get the man a coffin?" asked Mr. Atkinson. "It does not lie in my way to get coffins for anybody," was the reply, at which there was a very unseemly burst of laughter. "You think that a becoming answer?" observed the Counsel. "It is as becoming as the question," pertly replied Father Egan. "Did you go to see the body, riddled as it was with shot?" asked Mr. Atkinson. "I did not consider it a priest's duty when he hears that a man has been murdered to go and make a *post-mortem* examination," replied Father Egan. "Nor your duty, not only as a clergyman, but as a Christian and a man, to go and calm the bad passions of his enemies?" "I did that," the witness asserted, "and spoke on the subject at the next mass." The whole of this difficulty about the coffin was most searchingly examined by Mr. Atkinson, and Father Egan grew more and more embarrassed as it went on, and gave answers of which frankness was by no means the chief characteristic. At last he confessed that one reason why he refused assistance in getting

a coffin was that Finlay was opposed to the tenants, and another was that he did not consider that himself and Father Coen, his colleague, were treated with proper respect by the police. "Then," said the learned Counsel, in his sternest tones, "you two Christian ministers allowed your sense of offended dignity to prevent you from giving assistance in getting a coffin for this wretched man;" and the witness winced, but had to admit that this statement of the case was practically true. He did not attend the funeral, again because the police were not sufficiently polite. The Loughrea branch of the League, of which Father Egan was a member, kept books, but it is needless to say that they have disappeared without anyone knowing what has become of them.

The Rev. Father Molony, parish priest of Kinvarra, Galway, said before the Special Commissioners that there was no crime in his parish or district, but on being pressed with questions by Sir Henry James, admitted that Connolly was murdered a mile and a-half from his parish. Sir Henry James asked Mr. Molony:—

Was at any time an attack made upon Thomas Connolly?
Yes.

Was it an attempt to murder him? Yes, I heard that.

Was that the same Thomas Connolly you had condemned?
Yes.

This was within your parish or district? The attempt made upon him did not occur in this district.

It is March 9th, 1888. Did Connolly have police protection? No.

Never? I think not. The police used to visit his place from time to time, but they were never located in the district.

Was he not protected by the police? Never.

Did they patrol near him? Yes.

Every night? I cannot say. What we mean by police protection in Ireland is having a hut made in the neighbourhood.

This is the man you condemned in September, 1885? Yes.

Had he continued in your neighbourhood from September, 1885, to March, 1888? Yes.

Living in the same place? Yes.

You had had jurisdiction over him in September, 1885, and he continued residing in the same place? He did.

And they attempted to murder him in March, 1888? So I heard.

Was that in your mind when you answered my friend about the crime in your district? No, it was not, because it happened outside my district.

How far from your district? About one and a half miles outside my parish. He was on his way to Ennis.

His sins had been committed inside the parish, and the sentence for those sins had been passed inside the parish; he continued to reside within it; he walked outside and they shot him, and that is not crime within your district? I should say not.

This Father Molony was president of the Land League in his district.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PARNELLITE COUNSEL.

ALMOST at the close of the examination of witnesses by the Special Commissioners, the whole of the Parnellite Counsel withdrew from the Court. A day or two before, Mr. Reid had announced that only two or three witnesses remained to be called, and these, Dr. Tanner, Mr. Matthew

Harris, and others, were allowed to make statements, and were cross-examined by the "Times' " Counsel.

The withdrawal was on Tuesday, the 16th of July, 1889. When the Commissioners entered the Court and were seated, Sir Charles Russell immediately rose, and, looking pale—the writer was in Court—referred to an intimation he had given last Friday, but which, out of respect for the Court, he had advised his client, Mr. Parnell, to reflect upon. Mr. Parnell had reflected, and had given him, Sir Charles, definite instructions in writing that he and Mr. Asquith were no longer to represent him in the enquiry, and, with a really respectful demeanour, Sir Charles Russell added, "It remains my duty now, my Lords, simply to respectfully convey that intimation to your Lordships."

The President replied that he heard of the withdrawal with regret, but that Mr. Parnell would remain subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. Sir Charles Russell and Mr. Asquith then left the Court. Mr. Parnell, looking very pale and anxious, then asked that his further examination might be at an early day. Mr. Reid and Mr. Lockwood then referred to the persons they represented.

The President said that the position of things was in no way altered, except that the Commissioners had the misfortune to be no longer assisted by those Counsel. The persons represented by those Counsel might attend as witnesses if they desired to do so.

Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Reid, and the other Counsel who had appeared for the Irish Members, then left the Court, accompanied by Mr. Parnell and most of the Irish Members who had been present in Court.

The reason of the withdrawal of the Parnellite Counsel was that Sir Charles Russell had applied that the books of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union should be sub-

mitted for examination to himself and the other Counsel retained for the Parnellite Members, in order that they might see whether the Union had advanced moneys to obtain the Pigott letters, etc. To this Mr. Houston, on behalf of the Union, tendered all necessary evidence, but protested against placing private accounts in the hands of political enemies.

The Court ruled, "Whatever may be the agencies supporting the charges, our only business here is to enquire into the truth of those charges."

As regards this incident of withdrawal, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., said, at a public meeting at Brockwell Park, Herne Hill :—

"The last new departure was that of Friday, when there had been an elaborate demand made by Sir Charles Russell for the production of the books of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union. Sir Charles Russell's contention was that the Union had supplied the money which went to pay Pigott for the production of the letters. Mr. Russell said that he had been a member of the finance committee of that Union ever since it was started until the present day, and was one of the three members authorised to sign its cheques. He knew everything that had taken place since the organization was first hatched in Dublin, and he pledged his honour, and would pledge his oath in any court of law in the land with the greatest pleasure in the world, that not one single transaction had taken place that could not be published in all the newspapers in the kingdom without bringing a blush to the face of any honourable man. (Cheers.) He stated most distinctly and unequivocally that not one farthing, or any coin of the realm, had ever passed directly, or indirectly, for any purposes connected with the letters, or for any purpose concerning the inquiry now going on in the Courts of Justice. (Cheers.) The Irish members were on the wrong scent altogether. (Laughter.) The Union was not willing to hand over its books to the Parnellites so that they could pick out a list of the subscribers, and boycott them because they gave subscriptions. (Hear, hear.) It was a retreat (cheers) when Sir C. Russell practically threw up his brief on Friday; it meant that the Parnellites had had enough of the business (loud cheers), and that they were glad to get out of it any way they could. (Cheers.)"

AFTER THE VACATION.

THE Special Commission, which rose on the 25th July, 1889, sat again after the long vacation on the 24th October. Mr. Biggar opened the proceedings in a characteristic speech of opprobrium towards the Attorney-General, and a threat to criticize the Report of the Commissioners.

He was followed by Mr. Michael Davitt, who, although very bitter in all his allusions to the "Times," and to the Governments of the periods to which he referred, was very respectful in his tone generally, and some of his observations were pathetic. His aim was to show up the misery of the poorest of the population of Ireland during the worst periods of distress. He argued that the Land League was a constitutional movement, and that it and the Clan-na-Gael were not one and the same institution, that the Clan-na-Gael was not a "murder club." He endeavoured to impress upon the Commissioners that the outrages were the result of evictions, and not of violent speeches, and tried to disprove the charge that the League Leaders had not discouraged outrage and crime. His address was largely composed of extracts from newspaper reports of speeches.

Sir Henry James commenced his speech on behalf of the "Times" on October 31st, 1889. We can only give a few fragments of it. He said, in reference to the "Times," wherever the material interests of the Irish nation have been involved, the "Times" has been a systematic defender and supporter of those interests. When religious liberty was sought for by the leaders of the Irish people there were no stronger defenders of that contention than those who represented the "Times." When the fate of the emancipation of the Roman Catholic

population in Ireland was at stake, the "Times" was the most earnest and eloquent supporter of Catholic emancipation, and when it was considered that benefit could be given to the cause of Roman Catholic education by the endowment by the State of Maynooth, the "Times" again supported that view. When freedom was to be given to the predominating faith by the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, heartily did the "Times" support that view. But it has not only been in support of religious equality and the abrogation of penal laws that the proprietors of the "Times" have taken a part. They sought to extend the political franchise as early as 1850, and they were no opponents of the extension of an equality of franchise to the inhabitants of Ireland in later times. And giving yet more earnest proof of the identity of their feelings with those who would assist the material prosperity of Ireland, or allay the sufferings of the people, they were amongst those whose endeavours were directed towards staying the direst famine that ever affected the subjects of the Queen. It was in 1846 that the proprietors of the "Times" threw themselves heartily into that effort of assistance given to the Irish people, and there were many amongst that generous people who felt gratitude and not condemnation towards the "Times." "My Lords, even in respect of this particular matter that is now raised, this sad state of things existing in Ireland, I mean the contest that has existed between the landlords and tenants of Ireland, the 'Times' has not been always ranged on the side of the landlords."

Sir Henry James said that Mr. Davitt was in prison brooding for years over the Irish famine, and being shut out from the world, was unconscious of what was going on. He said that Mr. Davitt, according to Sir Charles Russell, was the founder of the Land League; that Mr.

Davitt was admittedly a Fenian, and that when he came out of prison he sought his old associates, who elected him to the Supreme Council of the Fenian body, and Mr. Davitt being the father of the Land League proves that it was of Fenian origin. The men with whom Davitt associated were trustees of the Skirmishing Fund, whose object was the destruction of life and property, laying the towns of England in ashes regardless of the destruction of life. Sir Henry James, in a masterly way, exposed the untenable positions taken by Sir Charles Russell and Mr. Davitt in their speeches before the Commission, and he said, "Step by step, we have shown how Fenian brains designed, Fenian hands worked, and Fenian money supported the Land League." Sir Henry James referred to a statement of Mr. Parnell's in which the Irish leader said, "The land agitation was started by Mr. Davitt in April last, taking advantage of the threatening state of affairs for the purpose of obtaining the land for the tillers of it." Sir Henry James added: "Your Lordships will not fail to perceive how this statement from Mr. Parnell's own mouth refutes the suggestion of his counsel that the Land League grew automatically and naturally out of the distress which existed among the tenant farmers at the time of its establishment, and you will see that the Land League movement was brought into existence by agitation, and was not the outcome of the distress amongst the tenant farmers which threatened to ensue rather than actually existed at that period."

In reference to Major Le Caron, and the attack made upon him by Sir Charles Russell in his speech, Sir Henry James said:—"He has given an account of his life from his earliest hours. He has told you who he was, what has been his life. Mr. Davitt used some language which to those who did not follow him closely would appear to

impute that Le Caron had been drummed out of his regiment. Those words have been misunderstood. My Lords, that man, when he was a very young man, leaving his home in this country, went to France. In 1861, when still young, he reached America. He joined in the American war between the North and the South. He attained distinction whilst serving in the army, in which he attained the rank of major. Shortly after the war came to an end, he learnt, by communication with a Fenian, of the intended attack upon Canada. It was a treasonable attack upon an outlying portion of the Queen's dominions, and against men who had taken no part in the misrule, if there has been misrule according to the view of any man, in Ireland. And Le Caron, who was true to his allegiance to this country, naturally communicated what he learnt to his father. The representative of the borough where his father lived was told of this. He thought it his duty to place the information in the hands of the Government, and in consequence of that, with the sanction of the representatives of the English Government, Le Caron was asked to obtain information in order that these treasonable practices might be known and counteracted and defeated. And so, my Lords, that man, with the sanction of those who had the best interests of the country at stake, did place himself in communication still further yet with those who were traitorously acting in America. And from that time, certainly from the year 1867 down to the period when he left America to appear in this witness-box, he had been playing the part of the interests of this country alone. It is true that he did from time to time take the promissory oath of those who were plotting, as I shall have to show to you, not only the open and more healthy warfare of the field, but plotting assassination, the destruction of the life and property of

innocent people. And for twenty years that man has held his life in his own hand. He never could have had one moment's security, one moment of certain repose. One letter miscarried, one person unfaithful to his trust in the Post Office, one accident any hour occurring, and that man's death in a moment was as certain as any person's death must be as the ultimate result of life. . . . What has he been? Merely a detective acting on behalf of his country with a view to secure the safety of innocent, unprotected subjects of the Queen—unprotected, that is to say, in any other way against the machinations of these assassins. If a detective brings a criminal to justice the community applaud him; they praise the exertions of a man who apprehends the criminal after the crime has been committed. Why, then, should the conduct of this man be condemned? Here you have a man who, running such risks as probably no human being ever ran before, occupied himself with defeating crime before it was carried out, and sought to prevent the consequences of awful crime, and thus to save the lives of those who had no other protection. This man, detective as he may have been, has thwarted the machinations of men who are not fit to be regarded as belonging to the human community. Is he, I ask, to be attacked because he has wrought this good?"

Sir H. James, referring to Mr. Parnell's speeches, read this quotation:—"The Americans sent me back with this message—that for the future you must expect one cent for charity, but millions to break the law system; and now before I go I will tell you a little incident that happened at one of our meetings in America. A gentleman came on the platform and handed me \$25 and said, 'Here are \$5 for bread, and \$20 for lead.' (Loud and long cheers.)" I believe, my Lords, there was cheering on both

occasions. What did Mr. Parnell think was conveyed in those cheers? Were the men who cheered thinking of the rhyme, of the hidden meaning that "lead" meant the League? They understood the words simply in the only sense that can be attached to them.

Then, referring to the basis of Sir Charles Russell's argument, which was that crime resulted from distress, Sir Henry James proved that crime had been greatest in the years of prosperity, and that it followed the incessant inflammatory speeches which were delivered about the country.

On the third day of Sir Henry James' speech, the "Daily Telegraph" remarked of it:—"Sir Henry James' continued speech may, without controversy, be fairly styled a model of method. He opens up each successive branch of his reply with introductory philosophy, and a clear statement of the proposition he proposes to advance; he proceeds to the evidence bearing on the point; and winds up with an oratorical peroration based on the philosophic exordium, and fortified by the facts in evidence produced. It is a sort of forensic Euclid. For example, it might be put, that, 'given a Parnell and a Davitt on the same base, and between the same parallel lines—*i.e.*, the Extremists and the Constitutional party, prove that the parallelogram is double the triangle.' The thesis being stated, the figure is drawn, the points and angles lettered from 'page' this, or 'question' that, and the resultant is a triumphant Q. E. D. This is Euclidian oratory."

Referring again to Mr. Parnell, Sir H. James said that someone has said there was a resemblance between the action of Mr. Parnell and that of the high priest who went forth amidst the dead and the dying, and stood between the dead and living and stayed the plague. That might have been the action of Mr. Parnell had he chosen

to adopt it. He could have gone forth to these very people, he could have lifted up his voice and literally stood between the dead and the living and stayed the plague of slaughter. But, Mr. Parnell, if we are to judge by his words, instead of letting the people know that he had no sympathy with crime, that he was desirous that it should cease, used the language already quoted, after which crime increased and intensified. Such is the evidence of misconduct, not only on the part of Mr. Parnell, but on the part of those with whom he was associated.

Then the boycotting speeches were referred to by the learned counsel, who said, "I charge this speech of Mr. Parnell's as being the sanction given to boycotting. It was the sanction given to every man in the performance of what was told to him as being his duty, that he was avowedly to treat his neighbour so that that neighbour's life should be insupportable."

The learned counsel, after referring to various speeches, said :—' Neither before his arrest nor after his release can I find any one speech of his dealing with this excess and abuse of boycotting. He left them to their fate, and applied himself to his other engagements and pursuits with the knowledge that this system of boycotting was continued to be worked in the country against the peace of the people, just as though the matter was no concern of his, forgetting that that system had been established by his authority, and had received his sanction. That fact becomes important when we consider how dangerous this system was, to the knowledge of Mr. Parnell."

Then, referring to crime, Sir Henry James continued—
"And now we have to ask what was it that this man, this 'uncrowned king,' Mr. Parnell, this law-giver of unwritten law—this man who probably had an almost

unexampled power amongst a people constitutionally governed—what was it that this man did to put a stop to this crime? He had a knowledge then of the crime that was existing—a knowledge gained from the branches of the Land League, as he says—and now we have to ask what did he do to put a stop to this crime? At the very page in his evidence I have just referred to he tells us what he did. He says that Mr. Davitt agreed at the forthcoming meetings, at which he had engagements to attend—his own engagements being finished at that time—to strongly denounce crime, and do all he could to show the people the injury that was being done to the cause by this crime. Mr. Davitt denounced crime, but what did Mr. Parnell do? His answer is ‘Nothing.’ Why? Because of ‘my own engagements being at an end?’ Your Lordships see that it was a matter of convenience. We are now speaking of a date very near November 20, and there were the month of December and the month of January before him, during which Mr. Parnell could have no Parliamentary claims upon him: and yet all that he, Mr. Parnell, who could have obtained a willing audience in any town or village in Ireland, has to say is that these outrages, which were not a political question, but which represented death and hurt to the Irish people—that these outrages, which had come after the Land League, which came into existence after his organizers had been at their work, were not to be checked by him, for the reason only that ‘his engagements were at an end.’ Can it be represented that that is the position that should be taken up by a man with such responsibilities upon him as Mr. Parnell had? Still, that is his excuse. He must have known that if he had spoken out his words would have affected the tone of other speakers in Ireland; yet his words were absent and his voice was dumb, because

he had no other engagements. And so he went his way, whether for pleasure or what not, leaving those men, those agents of his, at their work, and leaving their victims to their fate. He left it to his agent, in the person of Mr. Davitt, to attain that object, to attain which he ought himself to have made every sacrifice."

The learned counsel, after again referring to some of Mr. Parnell's speeches, said :—"Be it observed that in his speech, Mr. Parnell said distinctly, 'secret conspiracies do not now exist in Ireland.' If his explanation of that speech be regarded in the most favourable light, where is the explanation of the words that were far more important than those he used in Parliament?—I mean the words he used in the witness-box. Where is the explanation of those words? 'It is possible I was endeavouring to mislead the House on the occasion. It is very possible that I deliberately intended to mis-state the fact when I made that statement to the House.' It is impossible that in the discharge of my duty I should not refer to that statement. That is the statement that required explanation. Mr. Parnell, having had several days for reflection after giving that evidence, must have known that he was standing arraigned at the bar of public opinion, in the face of the world, on his own grave avowal that he was capable of deliberately misleading the House of Commons by a mis-statement of fact. But no explanation was given. If a member of the House of Commons had made that charge against Mr. Parnell, he would have been at once withdrawn from performing his duty in the House. He could not have made it without violating the rules and orders of Parliament. Yet this imputation of conduct so dishonourable and base Mr. Parnell has made against himself, and he has no explanation to give. I need not say that there were many men who hoped anxiously for

an explanation, but none came. For myself, may I say that when I heard Mr. Parnell give that evidence, my one feeling was a feeling of deep and grievous pain? I have said before that the characters of public men are not exclusively their own. The reputation of a nation is made up of many factors, conspicuous amongst which are the conduct and character of the men who guide it. We may well hesitate to think what will be said in the future of a time when such things as this were tolerated and perhaps approved by political parties. Will it not be reasonable for future generations to ask, 'What did this speaker's intimate associates, what did his colleagues, what did the public say of the standard of morality that made such conduct possible?' Supposing that an incident of this kind had occurred in the past, supposing that in reading a page of history one were to find that Henry Grattan or some equally eminent man had admitted that he had deliberately attempted to mislead the House of Commons, would not one look back with pain upon the moral degradation of that assembly, and would not the page recording the unhappy fact seem blurred and blotted with evil? My Lords, grave questions relating to Mr. Parnell's admission in that box will be asked and answered in the future. They will then be answered more dispassionately than they could be answered by me at this moment. In the course of these proceedings I have refrained from condemning individuals whenever I have been able so to refrain consistently with my duty, and, if I could, I would now gladly apply to Mr. Parnell even a more generous standard of consideration than that which Cato applied in the case of Lentulus:—'*Parcite dignitati Lentuli si ipse famæ suæ pepercit.*' But Mr. Parnell has not spared himself, and it does not come within my province, nor within the compass of my ability, to palliate or defend his conduct.'

Sir Henry James quoted from speeches proving that Mr. Parnell and Mr. Matt Harris had said that no secret societies existed in Ireland, because Mr. Parnell's counsel had claimed that atrocities arose from secret society action.

Sir Henry James said:—

“Now, my Lords, we have had a great deal of evidence in this case of persons who have established to themselves a spirit of faith in relation to crime. It is a faith that has afforded only homage to the assassin, and execration alike to his victim, his captor, and his judge. Here I believe it is for the first time stated that beyond affording such homage to the assassin and such execration to the innocent, there are found to be men who, while in favour of the assassin and in favour of that homage, will justify and vindicate, and approve as a noble act, the letting innocent men go to their doom, and these men being murdered on the scaffold in the name of justice, being innocent of the crime for which they are executed. I say that if the leaders of the Irish people, in support of such doctrines, could show such sympathy with those who had committed crime, must not crime have gone on increasing? It did; for in the sad, weary months of 1881 I believe it is out of such doctrines as these, which day by day were being disseminated amongst the people, that this state of things was produced. Are not these methods dangerous, and none the less dangerous because they are safer methods than the methods of the mere assassin who drives another to commit a crime and himself takes part in the murder? The evil is not the less because it was of a general character. It was more broadly applied, you may say, than an individual act would be; but it was more powerful in its efficacy because it was more broadly applied, and the effect is the production of crime over a broad and extended area. I submit that, when judging

whether these men did or did not directly cause this or that crime to be committed, it is not necessary, and it is impossible, to earmark the words of counsel or direction in favour of crime; but general words likely to cause crime to be committed, to cause men to become moved to frenzy and maddened to crime, such are the dangerous, and the most dangerous, means by which these crimes are produced. We now know the men who did take that course of moving a people to commit crimes, and they are the persons who morally bear the responsibility, the principal responsibility, in these crimes. I say, too, that beyond that there seems to me to be now evidence, direct evidence, of conspiracy amongst those who so acted; not, it may be, directly proved in respect of each and every one of these crimes so committed; but there is a conspiracy established so to work up a people, so to attract the thoughts of a people, so to urge them on, that crime shall be committed, speaking of it in a general sense. And when you see crime has been committed sufficiently in connection with the localities where such inducements to crime had been placed before the people, I ask you to come to the conclusion that those who had taken such a part as I now present to you have been guilty of causing that crime to be committed."

Sir Henry James read many speeches and articles in proof of the influences which stirred the people to crime, and in reviewing some relating to the Phoenix Park murders, he said:—"Then, my Lords, after the trial and execution of the Phoenix Park murderers, you will find an article expressing sympathy for them:—

'The lesson of the young life thus early quenched in darkness should not be lost upon our rulers. Brady was not the type of man who becomes a murderer from sheer callousness or base motives. The history of English

government in Ireland from long before Mullaghmast down to our own times, had taught him that any means were justifiable in dealing with a political enemy. He was convinced that what he did would benefit his country, and he risked his life and has died that his fellowmen might be happier when his body had rotted in the quicklime of a prison grave. Terrible as was the crime, in itself and its consequences, it was the act of a brave, self-sacrificing, misguided man. May his soul have found a more favourable judgment before the throne of mercy than was granted him here below.'

"Is it possible, my Lords, to conceive in the language of Archbishop Walsh a more abominable article than that?—four or five men struck down Lord Frederick Cavendish, and that is called a brave act! And this was sent forth with the impression of Mr. O'Brien's name upon the paper. We have yet another article still holding this murderer Brady up to praise, on May 19th, 1883:—

"All accounts agree in stating that Joe Brady met his death with more than ordinary firmness and courage. His physique was powerful at the age of 22 years, and he appears to have possessed a fortitude equal to the extraordinary audacity of the deed in the Park. Fear had no place in his heart. It was not the indifference of the Nihilist, or the pluck of the Atheist who believes that death is annihilation. In his growing years and in his youthful manhood he evinced a strong religious disposition, and was regular and constant in his attendance at the Franciscan Chapel in Church Street. Carey, it may be urged, was also a devoted Catholic, outwardly at least. But it might also be said that very indifferent Christians or even Agnostics, freethinkers, and persons of no religion would not enter into a murder conspiracy or commit a crime of such magnitude as that of assassination. In these matters

the human heart remains inscrutable. It is quite clear, at all events, that very different motives actuated Carey and Brady. One was evidently a hypocrite and a cunning coward. The other was evidently a sincere, lion-hearted enthusiast.'

"Let us picture to ourselves for one moment a man in a state of doubt and suspense as to whether his ways were good or evil, whether he should commit a crime or not, reading such articles as these, which hold up criminals to praise. What an influence would be brought to bear, what an influence it was intended should be brought to bear on such a man as to what his course of life should be by an article which spoke of a murderer as a sincere, lion-hearted enthusiast! As we proceed, my Lords, we find on August 25th, 1883, a reference in the '*Irishman*' to Mr. Field, one of the jurors who had given a verdict of guilty against these Phoenix Park murderers.

"If difficulties have been thrown in the way of our placing the whole truth of the case before you, there remains now sufficient to show that the charges made in '*Parnellism and Crime*,' and persisted in during the action of '*O'Donnell v. Walter*,' are not without foundation. Crime having been attributed as part of the machinery of the Land League, the object being the execution of its decrees, I submit that in this case that charge has been brought home in a way which leaves no room for doubt. . . . I shall make no apology, my Lords, for calling your attention for a few moments to a summary or retrospect, drawing comparisons between different periods in this case. One period is when Mr. Parnell, yielding to the solicitations of Mr. Davitt, accepted the responsibility of becoming the head of the Land League, and the other period is Wednesday, October 13th, 1881, when Mr. Parnell was sent to gaol at Kilmainham. I ask you to

consider what was the Ireland that Mr. Parnell found in October, 1879, and what was the Ireland he left to its fate in October, 1881. Two years elapsed between these periods—two years as full of shame to Ireland as any she has passed through. Mr. Parnell found Ireland in one condition, and he left it in another. He found it with a prospect of great distress on the part of its poorer population, and he found that population having, it may be, two causes of complaint—the peasant population of Ireland were complaining that they had no security for holding their land, and also that they were bearing an unjust burden in payment for that land. There were thus two motives that could urge her men into action—two causes of action that could be appealed to by agitators—and for two years the Land League, with Mr. Parnell at the head of it, had the control of Ireland, and had to deal with it for good or for evil. What occurred within those two years? As the years rolled by, the causes of complaint that had moved the peasantry into action passed away. Nature did much to remedy the burden that fell upon Irishmen, and those two years gave such bountiful harvests that as we reach their conclusion distress had passed away and plenty was in the land. As nature had done much, so human action had done something to remedy the causes of complaint. Legislation had shown that statesmen really were anxious to remedy the grievances the peasantry complained of; fixity of tenure to a great degree had been secured, fair rents had to be ascertained, so that the burdens that fell upon the tenant should not be grievous. At the end of those two years the causes of complaint that existed at the beginning had passed away, and much had been done for the happiness and prosperity of the land. But during those two years speech after speech was made, and inducement after inducement given,

and appeals made calculated to cause crime and not to stay it. So as the years passed by, crime went on increasing month by month, so that the Ireland which Mr. Parnell had the control of for two years was left by him in a state of distraction and crime which Ireland had never reached before. It is indeed a sad tale we have had to tell. We have had to point out what the crime was that had been spreading, and how men who might have been generous in their thoughts and brave in their acts, if left alone, had by criminal methods and by crime brought to bear upon them been intimidated. The great triumph that has been claimed for this so-called constitutional action is that it has brought the Fenians and the extreme Nationalists into line with Mr. Parnell's party. The great success of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues is in reality that they have converted the Fenian into a moonlighter, and that they have converted the man who would be brave enough to stand openly in the field into the assassin who lurks behind hedges and walls! These are the results which were achieved, and these were the effects which had been produced, when Mr. Parnell was taken away from public life. What an Ireland he left behind, and to what a condition of crime had he reduced the people whom he left to their fate. . . . Without repeating what I have said about the action of the Clan-na-Gael, I now have to establish to you that from that date the Clan-na-Gael became a dynamite body, existing for the purpose of committing outrages. Having undertaken to establish, as I submit, that the Clan-na-Gael was a dynamite body, I have to deal with the action of the Clan-na-Gael upon the American Land League. Sir Charles Russell says there was an attempt by the Clan-na-Gael, or a portion of it, to capture the American Land League, and he says that it failed. My proposition—and your Lordships will see

whether I or my friend is correct—is that the whole Clan-na-Gael did attempt to capture the Land League of America, and that it succeeded. . . . And as end and climax of all this, I shall show to you that when the course of English politics demanded that there should be a cessation of dynamite, then this body, controlled by the Clan-na-Gael men and imbued by Clan-na-Gael doctrines, thought it right for a time to suspend any operations in accordance with Clan-na-Gael views, and devote themselves to the collection of enormous sums of money which ‘they placed in the hands of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues for the purpose of supporting their Parliamentary action.’

“I now come to a matter so grave that I confess I did not recognise its full importance when I was originally dealing with it, but I would call your attention to a state of facts which show that books, in which a record of this money is to be found, have been kept back from your Lordships by someone who is perfectly well aware of the importance of this information.”

The learned counsel then exposed the keeping back of these books, and said:—“If I cared to retaliate and to answer my learned friend’s arguments and phraseology, I would ask Sir Charles Russell whether there is much weight in his statement that ours is a case of shreds and patches. That it is so, is owing to the force of circumstances; but our shreds and patches are capable of being put together, while the case which has been put before your Lordships by my learned friend is one of rents and tears, which can never be brought together, notwithstanding that there is evidence that could have been given which would have traced this matter step by step, which has been kept back, and the only conclusion at which we can arrive is that there has been a wilful suppression of information in reference to the matter. . . . I

am disposing, my Lords, of the very crumbs of this case, but there is one chapter in this long tale to which I have to refer, and it is one full of substance. I mentioned to your Lordships the difficulty that the 'Times' and those who represent the 'Times' had in obtaining access to the inner councils of the League. I take this opportunity of saying a word or two on behalf of my learned friend the Attorney-General, who has received scant courtesy—not that measure of courtesy which we expect to receive even from a foe. Of the attacks against my learned friend elsewhere I will say nothing, but of what has been said in this Court it is my duty to say a word. My Lords, I do not know that the Attorney-General needs one word of defence from me. But the view which is taken of the head of our profession is one that certainly must be of interest to all who belong to it, and I am certain that those who belong to my profession at this moment would expect me to say at least a word in reference to the charges made as to the conduct of this case against her Majesty's Attorney-General. My Lords, to tell you all the difficulty that the Attorney-General had to encounter on the opening of this case is impossible. If one refers to what occurs in the experience of any counsel who has had to make a statement of things he is about to prove, whether it be a case of magnitude or one of slight dimension, every one will know that it is impossible for counsel to vouch with the certainty of proving all he is instructed to lay before the tribunal; and we have all of us felt time after time in the statements we have made, however careful we have been to speak with that moderation which is one of the attributes of success in advocacy, that it is impossible to fulfil the obligation that counsel undertakes when he is making such a statement to the tribunal he addresses. If that be the difficulty in an ordinary case, perhaps your

Lordships may have gathered enough of this case to know how that difficulty became multiplied and aggravated. I cannot tell you all; and whilst here I am speaking of the Attorney-General, one word too I have to say in relation to the gentleman who has with the greatest industry and the greatest ability instructed my learned friend from first to last. There have been obstacles placed in the way of this case being brought before you completely and directly which probably no one can understand. The obstacles have been met to a great extent by the industry and the ability to which I have referred. Still, in all cases, whatever test was applied, it has not been possible to deal with the course that has been pursued in relation to those charged with the interests of the 'Times' newspaper. By way of example, I may refer to two witnesses, Coffey and Patrick Molloy. The man Coffey had made a statement—a statement intended to mislead the representatives of the 'Times' newspaper, planned and plotted in order that those who represent the 'Times' might be misled, and acting upon it might cause those charged with the conduct of the 'Times' case to be subjected to the very condemnation that Sir Charles Russell has applied to the Attorney-General. The conduct of Coffey was such that your Lordships committed him to custody for a gross contempt that he had committed. And what was that contempt? It was the attempt to endeavour to deceive the representatives of the 'Times' newspaper. Take also the case of the witness Patrick Molloy. Have your Lordships any doubt that he made the statement that was put in evidence to the professional gentleman, Mr. Walker, for the purpose of deceiving? I venture to say that no one can understand to what extent such practices have been carried, and how it is that the difficulty of my learned friend, who had to dis-

tinguish what facts to open to you and what should not be opened, became so great that—as everyone not only who has been associated with him, but all who know him will understand—whilst he strove to the utmost to open nothing but what he knew to be true, yet the deception which was attempted and which was shown to be successful, may very likely have caused my learned friend not to open everything which perhaps he could have established. I say that, notwithstanding the difficulty of discriminating what could be proved and what ought to be placed on one side, notwithstanding the great difficulty in proving what was worthy of your Lordships' attention, we have opened a door in many instances, and as I am now about to submit, the truth has been told you by those who from their position obtained access to the councils of the League, and having knowledge of what occurred amongst those who directed its affairs have told you, and truly, to what extent the League was implicated in crime.

“Now, my Lords, strong language was, no doubt, used in ‘Parnellism and Crime,’ when the writer talked of the ‘foul brood’ that gathered together in America; but was there not some justification for that language? Do we not see at this convention Patrick Egan and Thomas Brennan standing side by side with Alexander Sullivan, the man who penned the Clan-na-Gael assassination circular? . . . Now I have fulfilled my promise that I would bring the bodies in America into one confederation and combination, and I have shown that the spirit that controlled that combination was nothing else than the spirit of the Clan-na-Gael. I now turn over a page in this history. I have hitherto been dealing with the public action of the Clan-na-Gael body. With reference to this, our information is derived from publications openly printed. I have, however, also to deal with the secret action of the

Clan-na-Gael and the records of their triumphant success in capturing the American League. Documents relating to these matters, of course, would not be made public. For information on the subject one must go to the evidence of Le Caron. From it I will show how it was that the Clan-na-Gael achieved the success which I have shown they did achieve.

“I am happy to say that I have now brought my detailed observations as to the American organization to an end, and I submit to you that I have established that that organization passed into the hands of the Clan-na-Gael, of persons who are Clan-na-Gael men, and who were supporting the policy of dynamite. There was the source—I regret to have to say it—of the vitality of Parliamentary action in this country. You will recollect that I read the statement of accounts showing the money collected at this large convention. The sum amounted to £60,000 for the Parliamentary fund, and, if necessary, I could trace some of it in the evidence before you. . . . The point which I wish to make clear is that after these events, by virtue of the convention, the Clan-na-Gael men, through their camps, and through the hands of Patrick Ford, or through other persons, supplied funds to the members of the Irish Parliamentary party.

“I have now to make an answer to the challenge that my learned friend Sir Charles Russell made to me, and which is echoed in an expressive manner in the speech of Mr. Davitt. Both my learned friend and Mr. Davitt said, ‘What right have you to say there is any alliance between the constitutional friends of Mr. Parnell and those whom you term the extreme Nationalists and the physical force men?’ I was asked to give the time when and place where this contract was made. No one ever thinks that such contracts as these are made with a date and locality

attached to them, but the circular I have read from those who acted within such an alliance shows that it was a real and actual alliance—that it is an alliance resulting from sympathy, from joint action, and from support of the most valuable kind given by one party to the other. If I were asked to say when this alliance first became a fact, I should say that it dated from the time when Mr. Davitt could say that all the Nationalists had come into his movement, and that Mr. Parnell had consented to join it. We have evidence of the alliance in the fact that all the principal officers of the Land League belonged to the physical force party, that the secretary and the organizers of the League were Fenians, that Mr. Davitt, representing the constitutional party, found free entrance into the camps of the Clan-na-Gael, and, in fact, that Mr. Thomas O'Connor tells us that he was willing to receive the sympathy and support of every member of the Clan-na-Gael, and that the camps of the Clan-na-Gael supplied funds to the Parliamentary party. The alliance is proved to be established when Mr. Parnell allowed his organ in the Press to show sympathy with the action of the physical force men, even if their action had amounted to murder. I submit, my Lords, that the alliance has been absolutely and completely proved.

“ I turn now, my Lords, from America to Ireland. We find the dynamite policy in America is in suspense until it shall suit the purpose of those who control the organizations there that it shall again come into existence. Turning, my Lords, from the condition in which we have left affairs in America to the condition of affairs in Ireland, I do not intend to enter into any minute dissection of the general condition of Ireland. I do not intend to enter into any minute dissection of the causes to which that condition was due, but I may point out that during the

same period of time, exactly during that period when the Crimes Act had operation, from the summer of 1882 to a period in 1885 when the Act terminated with the Session of Parliament, you find a considerable decrease of crime. After that Act ceased to exist you will find that crime returns again. If it may be that in this later time crime has again happily decreased, why is that? It is with regret one turns to the cause, and again traces it as the fruit, if not of the alliance, at least of the identity of action in America and in Ireland. In calling your attention to the sad condition of Ireland, I have endeavoured to enumerate to you the causes which have brought shame and disgrace on the Irish people. Any one attentively considering the evidence as to the events of the past ten years must have seen with pain what a deterioration has taken place in the Irish character when treatment such as we have heard of is experienced by helpless women like the Curtins and the Fitzmaurices. I am not about to enter into the details of those cases. You will recollect the story which has been told you. A respectable man named Curtin had paid his rent. He was visited by an armed party at night and appealed to for arms. He refused, and, in self-defence, he shot a man, and in turn was shot down and murdered. In effect, you find that honour is given to the men who killed Curtin; and not only is execration heaped upon his memory, but persecution followed his unfortunate daughters. I will say nothing as to the character of the parish priest, who ceased even to visit and comfort them. I will not stay to note even the conduct of the Land League in the district, but I refer to the case to show what was the action of those responsible for crime—the action of those whose conduct has created it, and what their policy is even now in relation to crime. There is one member of Parliament

who has not been put in the witness-box who has declared the whole policy of the Irish party with regard to crime at the present moment—I mean Mr. J. D. Sheehan. He was alarmed at the conduct of the men attacking the Curtins even in their house, breaking down their pew in the church, and persecuting them in every imaginable form; he was alarmed not because the thing was wrong, but because it will do a political party injury. On January 26th, 1886, he writes a letter to Father O'Connor, in which he said that nothing which had taken place in the south of Ireland had done so much harm to the Irish cause, and would be likely to cause so much injury to their party, as the reports of what had lately been done with regard to the Curtin family. Such things must, he wrote, be suppressed for a short time. That was the policy; they must be suppressed for a short time, and then the exigencies of the situation might again lead to crime breaking out. I have instance after instance where the policy which controlled the dynamiters in America also controlled the men who had formerly no word to say against outrage, but who now for policy's sake were saying, 'Stay your hand.' I will give only one example, that of the speech of Mr. Lahiff, who, in supporting a resolution, said, 'They at that board had always been condemning outrages—outrages committed in the name of Irish landlordism, though sanctioned by the law. For the first time they found themselves condemning an outrage of this kind.' That speech was made in March, 1886, and the inference to be drawn from this and other utterances is that it is the policy of these men to encourage or discourage crime according as it suits their purpose—the men who have made it their boast that they have ruled Ireland substantially for ten years—and they have brought that country, so far as its natural character

can affect its destiny, into a sad and bitter state of degradation.

“ My Lords, long as I have occupied your attention, and poorly may-be as the thread of my tale has been woven, yet I hope I have placed before you now, in some sort of sequence, a history of ten years, a sad history to belong to any people. It has been a history full of crime, springing from hasty assumption of power by men who have inaptly used it. My Lords, I say it is a period of shame, and sad shame; and it is a period that surely Irishmen—patriotic Irishmen—must now be, and ever will be, bitterly regretting. Ireland has had dark and bitter days in her past. There are times when her brave men have fought in the open field, have fallen, and have failed. Her statesmen, her eloquent statesmen, have been silent in their sadness, as in the days when we are told:—

‘Grattan and Charlemont wept with her sorrow’;

but I know not that ever till now have Irishmen had cause to be ashamed of the history of their country. My Lords, it is said that happy is the country that has no history. So it may be, and this I know that if men doubt the application of that trite statement to Ireland, that happy would it have been for a people, happy would it have been for those who acted and for those who suffered, if the events of the last ten years could be blotted out. No human hand can do so. The annihilation of events is impossible, and all that remains to do is that a faithful record shall be made of the acts of that time.

“ Such will be your duty. It may be—it doubtless will be—that all who have taken part in this enquiry, from you, my Lords, to the humblest officer of this Court, will receive some condemnation, some attack, and some obloquy. But let that pass. The result will repay. For, the truth being told, it must be that a people, stirred by an awakened

conscience, will be aroused from the dreams of a long night, and when awake they will despise their dreams. They will seek new modes of action, with true men to guide them, and then it will be—God grant it may be—that blessings will be poured on a happy and contented people.” (When the learned counsel sat down there was applause in Court.)

Sir James Hannen, the President, then said: “I wish to say a few words. Several communications have been made to us by persons who thought that they were in a position to offer useful information to the Commission. We announced at the commencement of this enquiry that we proposed to conduct it on the principles prevailing in ordinary judicial proceedings. One of those is to leave it to the parties interested to bring forward on the one side and on the other, such evidence as they might desire to present to the Court, unless under exceptional circumstances. No such exceptional circumstances have presented themselves, in our judgment, and we, therefore, do not propose to call any evidence on our own motion.

“And now I have to congratulate the counsel who are still before us on the completion of their arduous task, and to thank them and those others to whom such thanks are due for the untiring industry and conspicuous ability which they have placed at our service, and for the great assistance we have derived from their labours. Our labours, however, are not concluded. We must bear our burden yet a little longer. But one hope supports us. Conscious that throughout this great inquest we have sought only the truth, we trust that we shall be guided to find it, and set it forth plainly in the sight of all men.”

The learned Judges, having bowed to the counsel present, retired, and the Special Commission, which sat

for 128 days, or, including the preliminary meeting, for 129 days in all, was brought to a close.

STATISTICS OF THE ENQUIRY.

THE "Daily Telegraph," which day by day gave excellent summarised reports of the Special Commission, published the following statistics of the enquiry:—The Attorney-General's opening speech lasted from October 22nd to October 26th—five days—when the "Times" case was unfolded, and, passing over the short Christmas vacation, went on to March 13th, 1889. In this period about 376 witnesses were examined—the total number of questions put to witnesses in direct and cross-examination was 58,237—the official record of the proceedings covering 3615 pages of printed matter. The Court adjourned from March 13th to April 2nd, when Sir Charles Russell commenced his speech for the respondents, and concluded on April 12th, having spoken for eight days. The Court adjourned again to April 30th, when Mr. Parnell, the first witness for the respondents, went into the box. About 117 witnesses in all were examined by the counsel for the accused members, and the list of questions put from the beginning of the case rose to 97,368. On July 16th, 1889, all the counsel for the respondents retired in a body from the case, on the ground that they were not allowed to go into an alleged antecedent conspiracy prior to the enquiry.

The "Times" case was then continued, as had been agreed upon, by the examination of Mr. Phillips as to Land League documents, and Mr. Hardcastle, the accountant, as to accounts. The case closed altogether on July 25th, and the Court adjourned to October 24th for Sir Henry James' reply, the total number of questions

put being 98,177. Resuming on October 24th, Mr. Davitt spoke for four days and a half, concluding at one o'clock on October 31st. Sir Henry James began his reply on the same afternoon, and concluded eleven days afterwards. In all about 493 witnesses were examined, and the Court sat, including the preliminary meeting, for 129 days, Mr. Cunynghame acted as Secretary. The daily issue of tickets for admission was between 200 and 300, and it may fairly be said that the list of visitors includes the names of many recognised notabilities in literature, science, art, law, journalism, society, and politics.

THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AND THE KENMARE ESTATE.

OUTRAGES committed on the Kenmare Estate from November 1, 1888, to July 31, 1889, in Furtherance of Campaign as contributed to the "Times" by Mr. S. H. Butcher, of Killarney.

November 19, 1888.—Cattle of Patrick Cronin driven off a farm which he was grazing, to compel him to join the Plan.

December 5.—Outhouse of Arthur O'Leary maliciously burned because he had not joined the Plan. The cattle (11 head) were saved.

January 1, 1889.—House of Michael Cooper broken into, shots fired, windows broken, and Cooper's dog killed.

February 28.—Shots fired outside the house of Thomas Groves; a notice found in his field threatening him with the destruction of his cattle if he did not remove them.

March 3.—House of John O'Connor broken into by moonlighters, who fired shots and beat him severely for not having removed his cattle.

March 17.—House of Humphrey Moynihan fired into and his horse shot because he had not removed his stock.

March 25.—Two notices found threatening to shoot T. P. Moynihan and J. McCarthy for not having joined the Plan.

March 29.—Moonlighters visited John Mahony and John Horgan and ordered them to remove their cattle. Before leaving they fired shots.

May 3.—Turf destroyed on John Mahony's farm, because he did not join the Plan.

May 10.—A colt and donkey of Michael Cooper shot because Cooper persisted in not joining the Plan. The eye of the colt shattered, and the donkey injured in the head.

May 19.—Three shots fired at the cattle of Patrick Cahill and Michael Moynihan. Two of the cattle were injured with shot.

June 21.—House of Robert Sullivan visited by moonlighters, who fired shots. The reason given was that he had not joined the Plan.

June 30.—Two cows of Florence Sullivan stabbed because he paid his rent on 25th. One of the cows died.

June 30.—Four cows of John Keane and one cow of Timothy Counihan stabbed because they had paid their rents. Counihan's cow died.

July 17.—Dwelling-house of Giles Cooper fired into because he had not joined the Plan. The men were detected in the act by the police, who secured two of the party.

Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., it will be remembered, started the Plan of Campaign on this estate at Mounthorgin, near Rathmore, on October 28, 1888.

SOME ATROCITIES DURING 1889.

A NUMBER of men wearing handkerchiefs over their faces and white sheets over their clothes visited the house of Laurence Byrne, of Craan, near Mount Lennox, Wexford. They assaulted Byrne, his son, and two daughters, and broke open the doors and windows. Byrne took up a pitchfork and threatened to stab the first man who should enter the house, but he was knocked down with a stone. The motive alleged is Byrne's refusal to join the National League.

A party of twelve armed moonlighters attacked the house of a well-to-do farmer named Michael Lyons, at Knockramana, near Clarecastle, firing several shots through the door. John Hennepy, son of Patrick Hennepy, an ex-Poor Law Guardian of Tulla Union, has been arrested and identified as one of the party by Lyon's servant boy, who saw a smoking revolver in the prisoner's hand. The latter's hat was also found under a bush close by. Hennepy had borrowed money from Lyons on the security of some land. The creditor had lately got a writ to enable him to obtain possession of the same.

A number of armed men wearing disguises attacked the house of Michael Ashe, farmer, residing near Abbey-dorney, Kerry. The object of the raid was to gain possession of the firearms that Ashe was supposed to possess. The moonlighters were told that there were no firearms. They, nevertheless, made a minute search of the premises, but they were unsuccessful in finding any. By way of revenge for the disappointment, one of the ruffians then shot a labourer named Foley in one of his legs. The shot was fired at close quarters from a double-barrelled gun,

and the limb was shattered in a terrible manner. Foley was a stranger in the place, having been employed by Ashe the previous day in Tralee. He was removed to the County Infirmary in a serious condition.

At Clonmel, a number of men, including the secretary of the Carrick-on-Suir Branch of the National League, were arrested on a charge of intimidation by preventing the purchase and sale of cattle at fairs.

A series of moonlighting outrages were committed in the Rath district, near Corofin, nine miles from Ennis. The houses of four farmers were fired into, but without any injury resulting to the occupants. The object was to intimidate labourers from working for a Mr. Flanagan, who had recently taken the farm of Cahenduff, on the estate of Captain Blackburne, from which the former tenant was evicted eight years ago. Boycotting notices were also posted in Corofin forbidding any intercourse with the Flanagans and another farmer named Costelloe, who had also taken an evicted farm adjoining.

Boycotting notices were posted extensively around Kilrush threatening any persons against holding any communication with a landlady in the town for seizing her tenants' cattle at Mullaugh for rent. If they violated the notices their throats were to be cut from ear to ear, and their bodies afterwards burnt to ashes. The warning was signed "Captain Moonlight."

A labourer named John Cahill Connor was shot in the left thigh in Rock Street, Tralee. Connor was in the house of a friend named Stack, when he heard a shot outside the door. On going to ascertain the cause, he was fired at, and badly wounded in the left thigh. Two other shots aimed at him missed their mark.

The house of a farmer named Riordan, residing in the north of the county of Cork, was visited by two men dis-

guised and armed, who fired a shot, it is supposed with a view to preventing Riordan paying rent.

Two men named Hickey and Connell were charged with the wilful murder of Denis Daly in the Castleisland district. The Attorney-General for Ireland, in opening the case for the Crown, at Dublin, said it was one of a shocking character. The deceased was a farmer 46 years of age. On the night of the 21st of November, 1888, he was visited by some strangers. Being apprehensive of danger, he slept with some of his labourers. The next day he went to fetch a quantity of turf with a horse and cart, and on his return journey, at a lonely part of the road, he was shot dead. The horse was loosened from the cart and the vehicle was turned over on the body. The deceased's brains were knocked out and his pockets rifled.

A crime surpassing in atrocity any yet perpetrated in the now notorious district of Woodford was committed. The house of an old man named John Mullan, 70 years of age, a tenant on the Lewis estate, was maliciously set on fire, and Mullan and an old woman named Walsh, a servant, who were the only inmates, were burned to death. The charred remains, which were found in the corner of the bed-room, presented a shocking appearance, and were with difficulty identified. The door of the house was unlocked and the key outside. A match box and an empty whisky bottle were found by the police at the back of the house. Mullan had lately abandoned the Plan of Campaign and paid his rent. The vengeance to which he has fallen a victim is no doubt intended to terrify others who might be disposed to follow his example.

Mr. Wm. B. Blood, J.P., of Cranaher, county Clare, was fired at by some ruffians. Mr. Blood has been for some time under police protection, and on Friday evening was returning from Ennis, escorted by two policemen, who

followed him upon a side car. When near Castletown three shots were fired at Mr. Blood from behind a hedge; the bullets whizzed past his head, but none of them took effect. The police rushed to the place whence the shots had come, but failed to see anybody.

At a Crimes Act Court held at Dundrum, county Tipperary, eleven men were charged with intimidating two female servants in the employment of Mr. Pennefather, J.P., of Marlow, who is boycotted. These servants attended Divine service, and after leaving the church they were followed along the road for a considerable distance by a crowd of persons, who hooted them. They were protected by the police, two of whom gave evidence yesterday identifying three of the accused. These three men were each sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment with hard labour. The others were acquitted.

The house of a farmer, named Cahill, was fired into by moonlighters. None of the inmates were injured. The reason assigned for the crime is that Cahill took some meadow land lately from which a tenant had been evicted on the estate of Mr. J. D. Wilson, J.P., of Roxton. Shots, too, were fired into the house of John Shannon, another farmer in the same neighbourhood, who is also blamed for taking land from which tenants had been evicted.

A moonlighting outrage was committed at Berrinfadda, five miles from Kildysart. A large quantity of turf belonging to Patrick MacMahon was maliciously burnt. MacMahon had been much annoyed because he employed a horse belonging to a man who had been boycotted. He was stabbed by a man named Russell.

A caretaker of an evicted farm went with an ass and cart loaded with oats and straw to the town of Tipperary. The caretaker was recognised, chased, and stoned, and his wife was also knocked about. The mob finally set the

oats and straw on fire, and the whole was burnt out, the donkey being taken out of the shafts of the cart and stolen.

Two women resident on a boycotted farm, near Carrick-on-Suir, were attacked in the public streets by a large mob, and vigorously pelted with stones and other missiles. It would appear that the parties attacked were endeavouring to effect the sale of a quantity of farm produce under the protection of a police escort. None of the local tradesmen, however, were found willing to transact business with them, and in the meantime a crowd gathered and followed them for more than a mile. The police, in seeking to protect them, were rather roughly handled, and Head Constable Ward was struck on the head with a stone, and had afterwards to receive medical aid.

A second daring attempt was made to murder a man named John Sullivan, gamekeeper on the Macroome property of the Earl of Bantry. Sullivan's residence is situated close to the high road, on the confines of Macroome Castle demesne. Shortly after eleven o'clock he came outside his door. Immediately a shot was fired at him, but the would-be assassin missed his mark, and Sullivan heard the bullet whiz past him.

The shops of five boycotted tenants in Tipperary were completely deserted, the practice of intimidating persons from entering them being kept up. An attempt of a most daring character was made to blow up one of those establishments, the property of Mr. Edmund Fitzgerald. A cart axle bore, charged with blasting powder and closed at either end with a thin iron plate, was thrown into this unfortunate man's yard with a fuse attached. Had not the iron plates been insecurely fastened there is very little doubt but that his entire establishment would have been razed to the ground.

The farmyard of a widow named Lynch, at Lissane, a mile from Clare Castle, was set on fire. Six ricks, containing 180 tons of hay, were consumed. The burning was supposed to be malicious.

In Castleisland, a party of moonlighters were at work, and some farmhouses were set on fire, but not much damage was done. A man's ears were also reported to have been cut off.

A labourer named Egan was shot while proceeding to mass in company with a man named Walsh, at Kiltiernan, within a few miles of Ballinasloe. He was within a quarter of a mile of the chapel, and the road was full of people, when the muzzle of a gun was suddenly thrust out from across a ditch and immediately a shot was fired. He cried out that he was shot, and two men, one of whom carried a gun, were seen running away through the fields. The gun was charged with shot, which took effect in the calf of the leg.

In Tipperary three shots were fired into the yard of a tenant who settled with his landlord, and two other tenants were subjected to a continuance of the same treatment. Their shops being watched during the day by relays, who "make a note" of every one who goes into them. A party of police was placed outside every shop door day and night. A countrywoman was observed coming out of one of the shops, and the goods were snatched out of her hands and burnt before her face in Henry Street. It is alleged that several of the tenants who have not paid their rent, but against whom proceedings are to be taken, have received threatening letters "guaranteeing" to them "certain death" in case they pay without getting the abatement agreed upon by resolution—namely, 25 per cent.

At Kanturk, one Sunday night, a body of armed and disguised moonlighters visited several houses in the

Kiskeam district. They fired several shots, but injured no one. A party of police, hearing firing, chased the moonlighters and fired upon them. The moonlighters returned the fire, but there were no casualties on either side.

Six men, disguised and armed, visited the house of a farmer named Thomas Dolan, at Dunlawn, about eleven o'clock at night. They knocked loudly at the door, and on its being opened by Mrs. Dolan, they forced their way into the house and searched for Dolan, who was, however, absent. They told his wife that if he dared divulge a certain secret they would pay a second visit and take his life. Having fired five shots in the air, the moonlighters decamped. The place is about one mile from where Patrick Cunningham was murdered at Carn Park.

At Rathfriland, county Down, a farmer named William Brown, was remanded to Armagh Gaol, charged with having shot at and wounded in the face another farmer named John Shilliday, while on his way home from Rathfriland. The injured man fully identified Brown as his assailant.

An attempt to renew moonlight outrages in November, 1889, in the Millstreet district, which was a few years since in a very disturbed state, did not prove successful. An armed and disguised band surrounded the house of Thomas Corkerry, a respectable farmer, resident two miles from the town of Millstreet. They demanded admission, but were refused, and they then threatened that unless they were handed over any arms and ammunition which the house contained, they would fire on the inmates, consisting of Corkerry, his wife, and female servants. The farmer ascended to an upper storey and discharged two or three shots, which had the effect of putting the moonlighters to flight. The matter was reported to the

police, who, on making a search, discovered some masks in the neighbourhood.

Referring to a diabolical outrage, the "Times" of December 9th, 1889, says:—On the 18th ult. the Sheriff, escorted by Mr. Byrne, the Divisional Magistrate, with thirty-six men of the Royal Irish Constabulary and twenty-five of the Fusiliers, undertook to execute the evictions which had long been threatened, and which the tenants—in many cases at least, being well able to pay their rents—had defied in obedience to superior orders. During the first of the evictions the peasantry crowded in upon the escort in the usual fashion, and were eager to enter the buildings. When, however, the Sheriff's party approached the house of a man named Macdermott, not only the mob, but the local leaders of the League, kept well out of danger, though they looked with intelligent curiosity from a distance for what was expected to happen. The house appeared to be empty and the door unlocked, but its opening was obstructed by a pile of stones inside, on which was placed a 25lb. keg of excellent blasting powder. Into this was inserted a perforated tube or case containing chlorate of potash and sugar, and on the top was fixed a small bottle of sulphuric acid, with a certain mechanism attached, which was intended to break the bottle and bring the chemicals described, producing an instant flame, into contact with the powder, the moment the door was thrown open. It is impossible to conceive any scheme for the destruction of human life more deadly and diabolical than this, and it is quite clear that in its scientific ingenuity, which was on a par with that of the dynamite outrages in this country in 1883 and 1884, it was altogether beyond the unaided powers of invention of Galway peasants. Happily, the execution of the contemplated crime had to be confided to hands less skilful than

those of the inventors of the infernal machine. The mechanism failed to break the bottle upon the impulse given by the opening of the door, and thus, by an accidental miscalculation, an explosion was averted which would have undoubtedly killed, with every circumstance of wicked deliberation, a number of men, officers of the law, policemen, and soldiers, who were simply doing their duty. The failure of the plot involved the disclosure of its machinery and intent, and threw a significant light upon the conduct of the peasantry and their local leaders. Not only was a curious reserve displayed when Macdermott's house was approached, of which there had been no sign in any other case, but a rumour had somehow or other spread in Woodford to the effect that an explosion had taken place, long before the news could have reached the town had the Sheriff's party been really blown to pieces. Taken in connection with the scientific character of the scheme, and its close resemblance to the methods of the dynamite party, the conduct of the peasantry and of their leaders is scarcely to be explained except upon the assumption that the conspiracy was well-known throughout the district. It is stated further, and the statement is in accordance with all that we know of the history of this agitation, that, neither on the occasion of the eviction nor on that of the sale which followed next day, did the local agitators or the tenant himself "utter one word of surprise, much less of abhorrence."

A savage murder was committed in December, 1889, near Dowra, in the county of Leitrim, on the borders of Cavan, a district which of late years has been comparatively free from agrarian crime. A caretaker named Kelly, an army reserve man, in the employment of Mr. George Henson, who had previously been in the employ of Sir Edward Harland, M.P., was on his way home from

Drumkeerin, where he had been to drive some cattle to evicted farms in the neighbourhood of Dowra, when he was waylaid about half-past 8 o'clock p.m., and murdered, his skull being smashed with a large stone which was found near the body. Mr. Henn, R.M., of Sligo, proceeded to the spot, and a large force of police immediately set out in different directions in search of the murderers.

A murder was committed near Ballynahinch, in December, 1889. A man named Cunningham was attacked by three men on his way home to Ballynahinch, and was beaten to death. Three men were arrested on suspicion. Religious party hatred is believed by the police to have been the cause of the crime.

On a Sunday night about the same time, a series of raids for arms was made on the houses of several farmers in the townlands of Crean, Ballypierce, and Rathkil, by a party of armed and disguised men. The first house visited was that of Mr. James Kennedy, Ballypierce, from whom they demanded firearms. Mr. Kennedy gave up his gun, and the party then left. At other houses visited in the same townland the raiders did not secure any arms. They succeeded in carrying off two guns at the house of Michael Vaughan, gamekeeper to Mr. Ferguson, County Court Judge of the West Riding of Cork. They also visited the house of a man named Barry, and carried off his gun. The party numbered eight men. District-inspector Wright visited the scenes of the raids.

A report from the well-known district of Castleisland, in county Kerry, December, 1889, threw some light upon the difficulties which farmers, who adopted the Plan of Campaign, exercised in quitting connection with the conspiracy. Two brothers named O'Connor joined the Plan of Campaign on the estate of Captain Stokes, but seeing that there was no probability of the conspirators gaining their

ends, they went to the agent and paid their rents. One Sunday night a number of armed and disguised men sought admission to the dwelling of Edmund O'Connor, and were refused, whereupon one of the visitors discharged a gun through his bedroom window; nobody was injured, but O'Connor's wife, as she lay in bed, narrowly escaped receiving the contents of the weapon.

The house of one of Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants, residing near Limerick Junction, was fired into on December 20th. The outrage is attributed to a suspicion that Quinlan, the tenant, paid his rent, and was not meant to injure the man, but to frighten him and deter others from paying. It was well known that a good number of the tenants had paid, and the Campaigners were afraid of the example being more generally followed.

THE CRONIN MURDER.

A MURDER was committed in America of a medical man connected with the Irish agitators. Dr. Philip Patrick Henry Cronin, M.D., of Chicago, disappeared on May 4th, 1889, and on May 22nd, his dead body was found hidden in a catch basin of a sewer, and the head bore some terrible wounds. A cottage had been hired, and Dr. Cronin sent for to attend a supposed patient, and when he was once inside, he was murdered. A buggy in readiness outside conveyed the murderers quickly away.

Suspicion attached to members of the Clan-na-Gael camp, and arrests were made. Public indignation meetings were held by Americans, and at one great meeting at Chicago, under the auspices of the leading citizens, resolutions in very strong language were passed; a portion of one of them was as follows:—

“Before the officers of justice of the nation we impeach

the United Brotherhood of the Clan-na-Gael as an association of assassins, existing under the protection of the United States, and usurping the highest attributes of government, in that it decrees death, exacts fealty, and levies war. We impeach it with a treasonable conspiracy against the life, peace, and loyalty of American citizens. We call upon the Government at Washington to assert its supremacy to all such secret oath-bound organizations, and to stamp out treason under whatsoever flag it may conspire."

On June 30th, the Grand Jury of Cork County, Illinois (which includes Chicago), indicted seven men for this murder—Martin Burke (otherwise called Martin Delaney, otherwise Frank Williams), John F. Beggs, Daniel Coughlin, Patrick O'Sullivan, Frank Woodruff (otherwise Frank Black), Patrick Cooney, and John Kunze. All were in custody but Cooney, who is "wanted." The trial was concluded on December 16th, and by the laws of Illinois, the jury not only decide the issues of guilty or not guilty but also award the punishments. The jury acquitted John F. Beggs. They awarded imprisonment for life to Daniel Coughlin, Martin Burke, and Patrick O'Sullivan, whom they convict of murder; and imprisonment for three years to John Kunze, and whose offence is reduced to manslaughter, and whose part in the crime was shown to be of a very minor kind.

IRELAND IN 1889.

THE "Times" of January 4th, 1890, published a retrospective article of three and a half columns on "Ireland in 1889," from which we make the following short extract:—

"The beneficial effect of the fairly good harvest of 1888

and of the high prices obtained for cattle was shown in the improved circumstances and general tone of the people. It revived and stimulated local trade, and produced a more contented, hopeful, and cheerful spirit amongst the commercial as well as agricultural classes. As their means increased and the cloud of depression which so long darkened the prospect seemed to pass away they became more willing to clear off old scores, and had more courage as well as more credit to engage in new undertakings during the past year. The improvement has been not only sturdily maintained, but largely increased. Accounts received from trustworthy sources in every district, confirmed by the independent testimony of merchants and agents, as well as official authorities in direct communication with them, concur as to the reality and significance of the auspicious change. Rents are better paid than they have been for years; financial and mercantile transactions are more spirited and satisfactory, while the deposits in the savings-banks have increased. Money generally circulates more freely, and there is a greater willingness to spend it in the pursuits of business, charity, and pleasure. No one who has had any experience of the country can fail to see the signs of a healthy revival in its social and moral features. The dark forebodings which for a long time were heard on every side have given place to expressions of hope and confidence, and in good heart the country is bracing up its energies and is determined to make still more satisfactory progress in the new year.

“A very significant proof of the better tone which prevails is to be found in the resolution passed at the recent meeting of landowners representing every county, emphatically declaring their intention to remain in Ireland, spending their incomes upon their estates, and discharging their social duties. They have emerged from the slough

of despond in which this whole class appeared to be sunk a few years ago. They do not expect generous treatment, but only a little fair consideration.

“Looking round at the general results of the year, Ireland has good reason to be satisfied. In every direction the prospect is cheerful. There is no complaint of distress from any district, and the general health of the country is good. There is a decrease in the number of persons receiving relief both in and out of the workhouses, and the labouring classes are not clamouring for employment or relief, as in past years. It may be inferred that they are better off. The farmers have had good crops, and although the prices obtained for cattle have not been quite so high as in 1888 they have been very remunerative, and no grumbling is heard in any quarter.

“The Earl of Derby said, in the course of a speech at the Liverpool Reform Club, on the 16th of December, 1889, in reference to Ireland :—‘I say with perfect confidence that there is no country in Europe in which material progress has been so rapid during the last fifty years, and that, making some exception for what are called the congested districts, the Irish peasantry are as healthy and well-nourished a race as you will find anywhere in Europe. I say further that all the grievances of which we used to hear so much of in the days of O’Connell have absolutely disappeared. What were they? The supremacy of the State Church. That does not exist. Capricious evictions on a large scale? They are impossible. Excessive rents? Rents are regulated by judicial process. Impossibility of owning land? Why, the object which the British Government has most at heart just now is the creation of a peasant proprietary, and that is being carped at, and indirectly but strenuously opposed by the very people who would have been the readiest to cry out for it had it

been refused. Under those circumstances it does seem a little absurd to go on about the old immemorial traditional grievances of Ireland—the violated treaty of Limerick 200 years ago, the penal laws and commercial restrictions of the last century, and the disabilities of Catholics, which scarcely one living man in twenty can remember to have seen in force. What are the present grievances? That which is most loudly put forward is the intolerable, the outrageous wrong done to popular sentiment because the law is actually enforced! In some cases a man illegally and bitterly persecuted is protected, and those who attempt to molest him are punished. In other cases the tenantry on an estate, with the priest at their head, agree what is the amount of rent they choose to pay, and Irish ‘patriots’ have no language strong enough to express their indignation because the landowner and the authorities say that is a question to be settled by a judicial decision, and that the parties shall not be judges in their own case. That is what is meant by the talk about coercion. . . . There is one advantage about the plan of selling to the tenants which, in the actual state of the country, I think important. Its adoption on a large scale is a heavy blow to all those fantastic schemes of what is called land nationalization, which, in plain English, means robbery. You may trust the owner of 10 or 20, 50 or 100 acres to defend the rights of property as effectually as if he owned 1000 or 10,000.’”

THE WORKING OF THE ASHBOURNE ACT.

ON January 29th, 1890, the “Times” published a long special article on this subject, in which it was stated:—
“The question of Irish Land Purchase being in the air,

it is a matter of considerable interest to notice the progress which has been achieved during the last year under what Lord Hartington justly described about fifteen months ago, at Belfast, as ‘the only successful experiment which has ever been tried in connection with Irish land’—namely, that initiated by Lord Ashbourne’s Act. The total number of applications for loans under the Ashbourne Acts down to the 31st of last December were 20,614, and the amount applied for £8,204,307, the number of applications during the three years ended the 21st of August, 1888, having been 14,002, and the amount applied for £5,800,369. The number of applications from Ulster down to the 31st of last December were 10,373, for advances to the amount of £2,965,763; from Munster, 4045, for £2,584,164; from Leinster, 3739, for £2,091,936; and from Connaught, 2457, for £562,444. In observing that the number of applications from Ulster so far exceeds that from any of the other provinces, it must be remembered that there are nearly twice as many tenant farmers in Ulster as in any other province, the number of agricultural holdings in Ulster being 200,000, while in each of the three southern provinces it is between 121,000 and 122,000; but, in the amount applied for, Munster does not stand far behind. The Ulster tenants have, however, always shown the greatest readiness to avail themselves of purchase, and those who bought their holdings under the Church Act of 1869, the Bright clauses of the Act of 1870, and the purchase clauses of the Act of 1881, were almost exclusively drawn from that province.

“During the year ending the 21st of August, 1889, the date to which the recently issued report of the Land Commissioners is brought up, there were 2365 applications from Ulster, 1227 from Munster, 1141 from Leinster, and 800 from Connaught. . . . The payment

of the instalments continues to be remarkably good. Thus the total amount which accrued due from the passing of the Act to the 1st of May, 1889, was £225,000, and of this less than £1500 was outstanding on the 31st of December; while of the half-yearly instalments which became due on the 1st of November, amounting to £84,814, all but £10,000 had been paid up by the 31st of December. In the speech with which he introduced the re-enacting measure in the House of Lords, in November, 1888, Lord Ashbourne stated that in only two cases since the Act had come into operation had it been found necessary to have recourse to the guarantee deposit which the Government require as security against default on the part of the purchasers, and from the report of the Land Purchase Commissioners we learn that no further guarantee deposits have since been so applied; while it has not been necessary to put up the holdings for sale, except in very few cases. . . . It must, however, be remembered that, before sanctioning any sale which may have been agreed upon between landlord and tenant, the Land Purchase Commissioners send out experienced inspectors, who make a careful examination of every holding proposed to be sold, and report as to how far it is good security for the sum the Commissioners have been asked to advance upon it. That this is by no means an empty form may be gathered from the fact that, as the result of such inspection and report, the Commissioners have refused to sanction a considerable number of agreements for sale, while in several of these cases they have subsequently sanctioned a smaller advance where the parties have revised their agreements in that direction. The allegation that the tenants have been paying too much, and that they have paid the landlord for more than his interest in their holdings, and so have bought an interest which

was already their own, is also disproved by the very large sums which the purchasers have obtained over and above the amount paid to the landlord in cases where they have resold their holdings after buying under the Ashbourne Act. Thus, a tenant who bought a farm from Mr. David Mahoney, in county Cork, rented at £4 10s., for £67 10s., and became liable to pay an annuity of £2 14s. to the Land Commission, soon afterwards sold the holding, subject to the annuity, for £90. The purchaser in this case, who assumed the liability for the £67 10s., evidently considered the farm worth more than double the price paid to the landlord for the fee simple. On the Fishmongers' estate in Londonderry, a tenant named David Craig bought a farm of 41 acres, which had been rented at £37 15s., for £550, and sold it, subject to the repayment of this sum, for £970. He held another farm on the same estate of 61 acres, rented at £37, which he bought under the Ashbourne Act for £539, and sold, subject to the purchase-money, for no less than £1280. On the Drapers' estate in the same county, a farm which was bought under the Ashbourne Act for £775 has since been sold, subject to this sum, for £1725; and in each of the last two cases the present occupier, who, in addition to the purchase-money paid by him to his predecessor, assumed the liability for repaying the purchase-money advanced under the Ashbourne Act, considered the holding worth more than three times the amount which the landlord received for the fee simple. Again, on the Duke of Abercorn's estate, county Tyrone, a tenant agreed to buy his farm under the Ashbourne Act for £750, and sold it, subject to the agreement, for £550; while another agreed to buy the fee simple for £880, and then sold, subject to this, for £1000; and many other similar cases have occurred.

“It is worth drawing attention, in conclusion, to a

remarkable piece of evidence which is on record from some of the tenant purchasers themselves as to the advantages they have derived from buying under Lord Ashbourne's Act. It is in the form of an address presented in November, 1888, by the purchasers of Mr. George Lane-Fox's estate in county Waterford, to the Land Purchase Commissioners. In forwarding therewith the first instalments of their purchase-money, they took the opportunity of suggesting that the benefit they had derived under the Act would be still greater if the term for repayment were extended from forty-nine to sixty-one years, and the yearly instalments proportionately reduced, and at the same time said :—'We respectfully hail and bless Lord Ashbourne as the best and most practical friend as yet of the Irish agriculturist.' Lord Ashbourne, the Conservative Lord Chancellor, the best friend of the Irish tenant ! Better than Mr. Parnell and his eighty-five members ! A noteworthy declaration, truly."

OUTRAGES IN THE EARLY DAYS OF 1890.

AT Munster Winter Assizes, held at Nenagh, in January, 1890, Cornelius O'Donoghue was found guilty of attempting to blow up the house of Michael Cahillane (who had taken an evicted farm) with dynamite. It appeared that a very considerable quantity of the explosive had been used in the attempt, but it did not all explode through the unskilful manner of operation.

About nine o'clock on Sunday night, January 5th, 1890, the house of a woman named Catherine Moynihan, of Pound Lane, Castleisland, was fired into. A dance was being held there at the time, but, fortunately, no injury was done. The police were promptly on the spot, but were unable to trace the offenders.

On Tuesday night, January 28th, an outrage was perpetrated in the Castleisland district of Kerry that possesses some novel features. A number of moonlighters endeavoured to force the door of the dwelling occupied by a Mrs. Honora Sullivan, her two sons, and two daughters. Failing to do so, they discharged through the back door eight shots, six of which were from shot guns and two from a revolver. One of Mrs. Sullivan's sons returned the fire, whereupon the moonlighters ceased hostilities in this direction, but adjourned to a stable, where they shot a brood mare. Mrs. Sullivan, who appears to be a peasant proprietor, had let a farm to a namesake in the neighbourhood. The latter demanded an abatement of 50 per cent., but was only allowed half the amount. The owner was obliged to resort to legal proceedings for the recovery of her rent, and having seized her tenant's cattle, the full rent was paid. Another gale of rent fell due on the 25th of March following, and it is believed this outrage was perpetrated with a view to preventing a resort to similar means for its recovery. In December last, notices were posted in the district threatening Mrs. Sullivan.

The vigilance committees of the National League in February, 1890, were still exercising a secret tyranny against those who fancy they enjoy the liberty to buy from or sell to whom they please. John Scriven, a Cork cattle dealer, had written to the Dunmanway branch of the National League, giving an undertaking not in future to attend an auction mart in that city, where it was suspected he had purchased cattle for boycotted persons.

On February 3rd, 1890, 50 tons of hay, the property of Mr. William Ryan, solicitor, Emly, county Tipperary, were maliciously consumed.

In February, on a Sunday night, four shots were fired into the house of a herdsman named Megan, at Moy, near

Ruan, four miles from Ennis. The reason assigned for the outrage was that Megan undertook the herding for a farmer named John Cullinan, who had taken two evicted farms.

On the 8th of February, 1890, at seven o'clock p.m., three shots were fired into the house of Mr. Austin Davoren, a respectable farmer of Kilcorney, about five miles from Ballyvaughan, and 15 from Ennis. Davoren and his wife, together with their little son, a neighbour, two servant boys, and a servant girl named Mary O'Donoghoe, were sitting in the kitchen when three shots were fired in. The shutters, which were closed, were penetrated by the bullets, and one of them struck the girl, who was seated at a table, in the back. She fell apparently lifeless on the floor. The little boy, who was standing near, had a narrow escape, as another bullet grazed him. The only apparent motive for these attacks is that some years ago he took a farm on the Creagh estate, from which a man named O'Brien had been evicted, who has since emigrated to America.

Coolagown Chapel was again the scene of very considerable excitement on Sunday, February 9th, 1890. The previous Sunday the entire congregation rushed from the place the moment some caretakers of evicted farms in the neighbourhood arrived for the purpose of joining in public worship. Subsequently stones were thrown at the caretakers as they were leaving the chapel. On the 9th this performance was repeated; the congregation again rushed out of the chapel and joined in hooting, groaning, and horn-blowing.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION REPORT.

THE three Commissioners, Sir James Hannen, Mr. Justice Day, and Mr. Justice A. L. Smith, were unanimous in the Report they presented to Parliament on Thursday, the 13th of February, 1890.

The Report occupies 120 pages of Blue Book with 40 additional pages of appendices consisting of speeches and documents referred to in the Report.

The Commissioners, after going into the evidence with much detail, give the following summary of their conclusions:—

I. We find that the respondent Members of Parliament collectively were not members of a conspiracy having for its object to establish the absolute independence of Ireland; but we find that some of them, together with Mr. Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organization with the intention by its means to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. The names of those respondents are set out at page 32 of this Report. [The names are those of Mr. Davitt, Mr. M. Harris, Mr. Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly.]

II. We find that the respondents did enter into a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the "English Garrison."

III. We find that the charge that, "when on certain occasions they thought it politic to denounce, and did denounce, certain crimes in public, they afterwards led their supporters to believe such denunciation was not

sincere," is not established. We entirely acquit Mr. Parnell and the other respondents of the charge of insincerity in their denunciation of the Phoenix Park murders, and find that the "facsimile" letter on which this charge was chiefly based as against Mr. Parnell is a forgery.

IV. We find that the respondents did disseminate the "Irish World" and other newspapers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of other crime.

V. We find that the respondents did not directly incite persons to the commission of crime other than intimidation; but that they did incite to intimidation, and that the consequence of that incitement was that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited. We find that it has not been proved that the respondents made payments for the purpose of inciting persons to commit crime.

VI. We find as to the allegation that the respondents did nothing to prevent crime, and expressed no *bonâ fide* disapproval, that some of the respondents, and, in particular, Mr. Davitt, did express *bonâ fide* disapproval of crime and outrage; but that the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect.

VII. We find that the respondents did defend persons charged with agrarian crime, and supported their families, but that it has not been proved that they subscribed to testimonials for, or were intimately associated with, notorious criminals, or that they made payments to procure the escape of criminals from justice.

VIII. We find, as to the allegation that the respondents made payments to compensate persons who had been injured in the commission of crime, that they did make such payments.

IX. As to the allegation that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of and accepted subscrip-

tions of money from known advocates of crime and the use of dynamite, we find that the respondents did invite the assistance and co-operation of and accepted subscriptions of money from Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, but that it has not been proved that the respondents or any of them knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund. It has been proved that the respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force Party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and in order to obtain that assistance, abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party.

There remain three specific charges against Mr. Parnell—namely :—

(a) “That at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations Mr. Parnell knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organising outrage, and therefore wished to use them to put down outrage.”

We find that this charge has not been proved.

(b) “That Mr. Parnell was intimate with the leading Invincibles, that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on parole in April, 1882, and that he recognized the Phoenix Park murders as their handiwork.”

We find that there is no foundation for this charge. We have already stated that the Invincibles were not a branch of the Land League.

(c) “That Mr. Parnell, on the 23rd of January, 1883, by an opportune remittance enabled F. Byrne to escape from justice to France.”

We find that Mr. Parnell did not make any remittance to enable F. Byrne to escape from justice.

The two special charges against Mr. Davitt—viz.:—(a)

“That he was a member of the Fenian organization, and convicted as such, and that he assisted in the formation of the Land League with money which had been contributed for the purpose of outrage and crime;” (b) “That he was in close and intimate association with the party of violence in America, and was mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party and the Parnellite and Home Rule party in America,” are based on passages in the “Times” leading articles of the 7th and 14th of March, 1887. “The new movement was appropriately started by Fenians out of Fenian funds; its ‘father’ is Michael Davitt, a convicted Fenian.” “That Mr. Parnell’s ‘constitutional organization’ was planned by Fenian brains, founded on a Fenian loan, and reared by Fenian hands.”

We have shown in the course of the report that Mr. Davitt was a member of the Fenian organization, and convicted as such, and that he received money from a fund which had been contributed for the purpose of outrage and crime—viz., the Skirmishing Fund. It was not, however, for the formation of the Land League itself, but for the promotion of the agitation which led up to it. We have also shown that Mr. Davitt returned the money out of his own resources.

With regard to the further allegation that he was in close and intimate association with the party of violence in America, and mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party and the Parnellite and Home Rule party in America, we find that he was in such close and intimate association for the purpose of bringing about, and that he was mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance referred to.

Referring to Mr. Davitt and the Clan-na-Gael, the Commissioners report:—We may now review the effects of

Mr. Davitt's visit to America. He had found two sections of the Clan-na-Gael united as to the end they desired to achieve, but differing as to the means to be employed to attain it. They both looked upon the complete severance of Ireland from England as the main object of their exertions. One of them regarded insurrection as the only means of attaining this end, and for this they prepared by organizing their forces both in America and Ireland, and by the introduction of arms into the latter country, and held entirely aloof from Parliamentary action.

The other section, under the guidance of Mr. Devoy, while approving of insurrection when practicable, considered that the time when it could be resorted to with success would be hastened by taking part in the political life of Ireland, and sought to aid the cause of Irish independence by connecting it with some social question, like that of the land, in which the mass of the Irish people was interested.

With this section of the Clan-na-Gael Mr. Davitt formed a close alliance, and endeavoured to gain recruits from the former and more irreconcilable party, or at least to remove their active opposition.

The policy recommended both by Mr. Davitt and by Devoy was that the two sections should put aside jealousy of one another, and act in harmony, neither interfering with the other in its exertions for the attainment of their common end, and throughout the whole history of the Land League movement it will be observed that the necessity of conciliating the extreme section modified and controlled the action of the Parliamentary party.

Referring to the purport and effect of Mr. Parnell's speeches in America, the Commissioners report:—In these speeches Mr. Parnell used language indicating a desire for the complete separation of Ireland from the United

Kingdom. At Cincinnati, on February 20th, 1880, he is reported to have said:—

"When we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule; pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment; when we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place amongst the nations of the earth, and let us not forget that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Mr. Parnell will not undertake to say that he did not use the expression that he would not be satisfied till the last link between Ireland and England was destroyed, but says that it is improbable that he did so, and that if he did it must have been largely qualified with other matter, as it is entirely opposed to anything he has ever thought or said.

The evidence leads us to the conclusion that Mr. Parnell did use the words attributed to him, and they certainly are not inconsistent with some of his previous utterances.

As to Mr. Parnell's relations with the Fenians, the Commissioners report:—At a banquet given to Mr. Parnell the same day, Mr. Biggar, in his presence, made a speech in which he said that "he could not believe that the Irish race was as badly off as the Russian race. They had all seen what Hartmann had done, and if the present constitutional course that they were pursuing in Parliament did not succeed in getting the rights they wanted for Ireland, he thought that Ireland would be able to produce another Hartmann, probably with a much better result."

Mr. Bignar does not deny that he used these words, but says that it was in such a connection as to express a warning what would be the result if "the Irish Parliamentary representatives pursued the milk-and-water policy of the Whig section." But this explanation gives no effect to the concluding words expressing a hope that the anticipated Irish attempts at assassination would have "a much better result" than that of Hartmann.

Of a meeting at the Rotunda, when Mr. Parnell repeated that he had received \$5 for bread and \$20 for lead, the Commissioners said:—After this meeting, Mr. Parnell does not appear to have encountered any hostility from the Physical Force party. The majority had become convinced by this time that the new movement, so far from being an obstacle to the realization of their aims, was really a stepping-stone to their fulfilment. Mr. Parnell indeed asserts that the organization of the Irish Republican Brotherhood constantly and consistently opposed the Land League from the first, but the account of his views given in the "Nation" newspaper of the 2nd of October, 1880, does not agree with this.

Mr. Parnell stated in cross-examination that the opposition of the Fenian party became stronger after this, but we find no evidence of it. On the contrary, Mr. M. Harris tells us that had it not been for the Fenian organization the Land League never could have assumed the proportions it did, and he added, "I know that what I am saying will tell a good deal against what has been put forth in the witness-box, but I want to tell the truth."

Referring to Mr. Davitt's second visit to America, the Commissioners said:—The acts and speeches of Mr. Davitt explain and illustrate the position he had adopted. Still a Fenian in sympathy, if not in actual membership, and still actuated by a desire, not only to abolish land-

lordism, but to bring about a total separation of Ireland from England, he had determined to make use of an open or so-called constitutional movement to prepare the way for the realization of his aims. He, first of all those then engaged in Irish politics, had recognized the expediency of uniting the land movement with Fenianism, and by an appeal, as he says, to self-interest, to give it force and vitality. He avowed in the witness-box before us that the principle on which he had always acted was to make the land question a stepping-stone to complete national independence; and he concluded, "I wish to God I could get it to-morrow."

For this he, in conjunction with others, had created the Land League and drafted its constitution, started the necessary agitation, and induced Mr. Parnell to adopt his methods. For these ends he for a second time visited America, where his Fenian antecedents secured him a reception and a hearing among the extreme Nationalist party. In appealing to that party he was ever careful to assuage their distrust of the open movement by pointing out to them that his present proposals would further, not frustrate, their ultimate aims; and he acted throughout as the link between the two wings of the Irish party.

In our judgment the object aimed at by Mr. Davitt and the other founders of the Land League with regard to the Revolutionary party was not to put an end to or restrain its action by merging it in the new movement, but to point out to those holding Fenian opinions that the two parties did not clash, and that they might be of mutual aid to one another.

We have now briefly reviewed the various steps by which the Land League of Ireland was formed and organized. It was originated by Mr. Davitt, adopted by Mr. Parnell, and the support of the extreme party both in Ireland and

in America was secured. Some at least of the leaders of the movement joined it as a means of obtaining a complete separation of Ireland from England, but we do not think that the mere joining the Land League necessarily implied a desire for such separation.

In our judgment the charge against the respondents collectively of having conspired to bring about total separation is not established. But we find that some of them, together with Mr. Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organization with the intention by its means to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. We think that this has been established against the following among the respondents:— Mr. Davitt, Mr. M. Harris, Mr. Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly.

As to the origin of boycotting, the Commissioners quote the following extract from Mr. Parnell's Ennis speech:—

“Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted? (Various shouts, among which ‘Kill him’ and ‘Shoot him.’) Now, I think I heard somebody say ‘Shoot him’—(‘Shoot him’)—but I wish to point out to you a very much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way, which will give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. (Hear, hear.) When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted you must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets of the town, you must show him at the shop counter, you must show him in the fair and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he was a leper of old—you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and

you may depend upon it, if the population of a county in Ireland carry out this doctrine, that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost of shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men within the county, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws." (Cheers.)

From this time forward this speech was taken as a model upon which the speeches of the organizers and leading members of the Land League were framed. The practice of boycotting was recommended in emphatic terms, and was adopted as a main instrument for the purpose of carrying out the unwritten law of the League. A strenuous and combined effort was now made by means of speeches throughout the country to arouse the passions of the people, and conspicuous amongst the speakers were Mr. Dillon and Mr. Biggar.

Then follow some references to the results of such speeches, and in reference to one violent notice posted up, in which the words "shun him" occurred, the Commissioners add—"It will be seen that the term 'shun them as you would lepers' is taken from Mr. Parnell's Ennis speech of the 19th September, 1880."

The conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived upon boycotting is thus given by them:—It will be seen from these instances of boycotting, which might be largely added to, that it constituted a system of intimidation of a most severe and cruel character. It was directed not only against those who took land from which another had been evicted, but against every one who, directly or indirectly, offered any obstacle to the reign of the unwritten law of the League in the place of the law of the land. It was directed against those who paid their rent when others refused to pay, a class whom Mr. Parnell, in his interview with Mr. Ives, had designated as weak and cowardly, and against whom public opinion must be brought to bear,

though it might manifest itself in unpleasant ways. It was directed against agents of landlords, bailiffs, caretakers, emergency men called in to prevent the land becoming waste, against those who supplied goods to such men, and generally against all who supplied food or even spoke to boycotted persons; against those who refused to join the League; against those who gave evidence in Courts of justice adverse to those accused of agrarian crime; against those who supplied cars to the police; against the children of boycotted persons, and the schools they attended; and against a school because an assistant teacher was related to persons who had offended the League. The funerals of obnoxious persons were put under a similar ban, and even coffins or the wood to make them were withheld from the dead.

That this intimidation operated as was intended was proved by a body of evidence which established the various devices to which those tenants resorted who were willing to pay their rent, but who feared that by so doing they would bring upon themselves the vengeance of the League. Some sent their rent from a distance through the hands of strangers. Some sent it under cover of letters addressed to others than the agent. Some desired that no receipt should be sent to them at their known address, others that it should not be entered in their pass-books. Some paid their rent into banks to be thus handed to the landlord or agent, others to shopkeepers in the village to be in like manner dealt with. Some before paying asked that writs might be issued against them even at their own costs. Some that judgments might be signed, and others that the sheriff might be put in. Some went by stealth to the rent office. Some paid secretly by night, and others walked long journeys to pay at a distant town. One man who was a member of the League sent word to his land-

lord to meet him in a wood at night, where he wished to pay his rent, which he did, the man saying "For God's sake don't tell."

We are of opinion that the combination of which boycotting was the instrument was illegal both in its objects and the means which were adopted. The object of this elaborate and all-pervading tyranny was not only to injure the individual landlords against whom it was directed by rendering their land useless to them unless they obeyed the edicts of the Land League, but to injure the landlords as a class and drive them out of the country. We have shown that the Land League leaders proposed that the landlords should be compensated, but it was intended so to reduce the value of the land by reducing the rents to such sums as the Land League or the tenants should determine, that the compensation to be made should be diminished, and Mr. Parnell, as early as December, 1879, claimed that the result of the agitation had been to bring down the purchase price of land from 21 to 15 years, and that with difficulty of sale. The means by which this depreciation had been and continued to be effected was by inciting tenants not to pay the rents they had contracted to pay, and by intimidating those who were willing to fulfil their engagements from doing so. This intimidation was extended to caretakers and herds, and all by whose assistance the land could be rendered of any value to its owner, thus preventing these persons from exercising their lawful callings, and depriving them of their liberty of action by the fear of loss or injury, and coercing them to obey the commands of the Land League. It was not contended before us by the respondents that actual intimidation could be justified, but it was argued that the Land League did no more than direct the force of public opinion against those whose conduct was deemed

injurious to the interests of the tenants. It was, however, proved before us that the action of the Land League far exceeded this limit, and that the effects of boycotting were such as might be expected to, and did, create a well-grounded terror in the minds of those who suffered under it, and we come to the conclusion that this was the intention of those who devised and carried out this system. It is further to be observed that, though boycotting led in many cases to actual outrage, yet it was persisted in for years against the same individuals, and was generally recommended, notwithstanding the evils which plainly resulted from it.

In our judgment the leaders of the Land League who combined together to carry out the system of boycotting were guilty of a criminal conspiracy, one of the objects of which was (as stated in the second charge) by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the English garrison.

We consider that this charge has been established against the following respondents:—C. S. Parnell, John Dillon, Joseph G. Biggar, Thomas Sexton, T. P. O'Connor, M. Harris, W. O'Brien, T. D. Sullivan, T. M. Healy, Tim. Harrington, Ed. Harrington, A. O'Connor, Jos. E. Kenny, W. Redmond, J. E. Redmond, Justin M'Carthy, J. O'Connor, Th. Jos. Condon, J. J. O'Kelly, Andrew Cummins, Jos. R. Cox, Patrick O'Hea, Jeremiah D. Sheehan, James Leahy, Edward Leamy, John Barry, Dr. Tanner, Maurice Healy, Thomas Quinn, Danl. Crilly, Henry Campbell, Patk. J. Foley, J. J. Clancy, J. F. X. O'Brien, R. Lalor, Thos. Mayne, Jno. Deasy, J. C. Flynn, Jeremiah Jordan, W. J. Lane, D. Sheehy, Donal Sullivan, Gametr. M. Byrne, Michael Davitt.

No evidence was given against the other respondents, but it was stated by counsel on their behalf that the whole 65 stood on the same public platform, and that while some had been more or less active, all were agreed on the principles on which they had acted; but as the extent of this admission may be doubtful our several findings will relate only to the respondents above mentioned.

Statistics of crime were referred to by the Commissioners, thus:—The statistics of crime during the years 1880, 1881, 1882, strongly corroborate the evidence of those witnesses we have already referred to, who stated that outrages followed as a consequence in those districts in which the Land League was established.

There is no room for doubt that agrarian crime was raging in Ireland during the years 1880, 1881, 1882, when the Land League agitation was at its height.

The following table shows the total amount of agrarian crime during the years 1877 to 1885 in all Ireland:—

1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
236	301	863	2,589	4,439	3,432	870	762	944

It will be seen from the above table how abnormal was the crime during 1880, 1881, and 1882.

Mr. Dillon tells us that in the year 1879 only two or three counties were engaged in the movement. Two of the counties referred to were Mayo and Galway, and from Mr. Davitt's evidence it appears that the third county was Sligo.

The statistics of agrarian crime in Mayo, Galway, and Sligo are as follows:—

		1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Mayo	...	52	25	178	343	308	146	45	24	26
Galway	...	20	22	179	402	487	349	56	43	79
Sligo	...	5	15	53	71	100	137	17	20	11

It is obvious from this table how crime rose in these

three counties in 1879 when the Land League was at work there.

The statistics of agrarian crime in the four remaining counties on the western seaboard, which comprised the remaining poorest parts of Ireland, and in which in 1879 the Land League was not active, are as follows :—

			1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Donegal	...	...	15	16	25	52	119	58	10	22	7
Clare	...	...	5	8	21	93	213	207	55	38	88
Kerry	...	...	8	5	13	298	401	347	146	117	180
West Cork	...	...	1	9	16	133	338	171	39	34	45

Thus it appears that although there was a rise in crime in the year 1879 in these four counties, it was insignificant when compared with the rise which took place in that year in the counties of Mayo and Galway, where the agitation was then active, and also with the rise which took place in the two subsequent years in these four counties when the Land League extended its operations to them.

We will now examine the rise of agrarian crime in the counties Kerry and Clare as shown in the above table.

In county Kerry the Land League had not organized itself until the month of October, 1880, though some agitation had previously commenced there.

It will be seen what an enormous increase in crime took place in this county in the year 1880—viz., from 13 cases in 1879 to 298 in 1880, and from the table below it appears that during the first nine months of the year 1880 (January to September inclusive) the average of crime in this county was eight cases per month, whereas during the last three months of the year the average rose to no less than 75 cases per month, a fact peculiarly significant, especially when it is borne in mind that by far the acutest distress in this county existed in the winter and spring of 1879-1880.

TABLE OF AGRARIAN CRIME PER MONTH IN COUNTY KERRY
DURING 1880.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
7	2	5	1	5	12	9	8	20	47	86	93

As regards Clare, Mr. Parnell, on the 19th of September, 1880, in his Ennis speech, in which he advocated boycotting, stated to the people of Clare:—

. “When you have made the question really ripe for settlement, and then and not till then will it be settled. It is very nearly ripe already in many parts of Ireland. It is ripe in Mayo, in Galway, in Roscommon, in Sligo, and in portions of the county of Cork, but I regret to say that the tenant farmers of Clare have been behind in organization up to the present time. (Shouts.) You must band yourselves together into Land Leagues. You must see that the principle of the Land League is inculcated, and when you have done this in Clare, Clare will take her rank with the other Irish counties, and you will find you will be included in the next Land Bill which will be brought forward by the Government.”

The following table shows the rise of agrarian crime in Clare after the delivery of this speech:—

Up to the end of September, in which month the speech was made, the average of agrarian crime was four cases per month, and after the speech, during October, November, and December, the average was 18 per month, and increased during 1881 and 1882.

TABLE OF AGRARIAN CRIME PER MONTH IN COUNTY CLARE
DURING 1880.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	4	2	3	3	4	5	7	6	25	12	19

The table of agrarian crime for Roscommon and county Cork will be found in the evidence.

Mr. Parnell told us that until August, 1880, when the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords, the Land League was, practically speaking, non-existent, excepting in Mayo and Galway, and that it then spread like wild-fire north, south, east and west. The following table proves that during the first eight months of this year, *i.e.*, January to August, 1880, inclusive, the average of agrarian crime in all Ireland was 91 cases per month, whereas during the last four months of this year the average rose to no less than 464 per month.

AGRARIAN CRIME IN IRELAND DURING 1880.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
114	97	83	67	88	90	84	104	165	269	559	865

It is impossible to study these figures without seeing that the rise of agrarian crime was coincident with the activity of the Land League, and the coincidence of the decrease of agrarian crime with the inactivity of the Land League will be found to be equally conspicuous.

It is true that the Land League as an organization was suppressed in October, 1881, and its leaders imprisoned in Kilmainham, but its agitation was continued by the Ladies' Land League with the assent and approbation of the Land League leaders. The Ladies' Land League occupied the same premises in Dublin as the Land League had done, and the funds of the Land League, as before stated, to the amount of over £70,000, were handed to them to carry on the work, which they continued until the Crimes Prevention Act (12th of July, 1882), put a check upon their proceedings.

The following table shows the decrease of crime which then took place:—

	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Agrarian Crime in all Ireland.	2587	4439	3432	870	762	944

The next table shows how in the year 1882 crime decreased coincidently with the passing of the Crimes Act in July of that year:—

AGRARIAN CRIME IN ALL IRELAND.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
495	410	542	465	491	234	231	176	139	112	93	85

being an average of 404 per month of crime up to the end of July, and an average of 121 per month after.

Thus it will be seen that, as in August, 1880, when Mr. Parnell says the Land League started in its full vigour, crime increased from 91 to 464 cases per month, so in July, 1882, when the Land League agitation was checked by the operation of the Crimes Act, it decreased from 404 per month to 121 per month.

Returns were given in evidence showing that the crimes were, amongst others, threatening letters, killing or maiming cattle, arson, firing into dwellings or at the person, and murder. These returns contained columns describing the nature of the crimes and the suggested motives for their commission, and from these it appears that in very many instances the crimes were committed to punish those who had done acts which the Land League had forbidden, or for showing hostility to it, such as taking land from which a tenant had been evicted, for serving processes for the recovery of land, acting as bailiff or as herd to a person obnoxious to the Land League, for paying rent, and other similar causes.

The exact facts in a majority of these cases have not been proved before us, but, from the numerous instances as to which evidence has been given, we see no reason to doubt that the motives suggested to have prompted the crimes have in the main been correctly assigned.

The above tables contain, as before stated, the whole agrarian crime in Ireland, including threatening letters.

We regard threatening letters as a serious form of agrarian crime, but if these are eliminated it makes no difference in the conclusions to be drawn, the proportion which these letters bear to the total agrarian crime being about the same throughout the various periods referred to.

The National League, though founded upon the 17th of October, 1882, did not show much activity till the year 1885. Mr. Timothy Harrington, M.P., the secretary of the National League throughout this period, says that there were very few branches up to the year 1885—that it was in 1885 that the National League spread so rapidly as to render it not easy for a man in his position to control it—that the general election occurred in 1885, and consequently the branches of the League trebled in that year.

It will be seen from the table below how crime in 1885 again increased coincidently with this renewed activity of the National League :—

	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.
Agrarian Crime in all Ireland.	2539	4439	3432	870	762	944	1056

CAUSES OF CRIME SUGGESTED BY RESPONDENTS.

It was contended before us that the agrarian crime of 1880, 1881, and 1882, abnormal and appalling as it was, ought not to be attributed to the agitation of the League, but to a chronic state of crime into which Ireland was wont to lapse when distress, aggravated by eviction and the fear of it, set in. It was asserted that as, following on the famine years of 1846-1848, ejectments and threats of ejectments multiplied, crime increased, so in the years 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, like causes produced like results. It was further suggested that the crime was the work of secret societies acting in antagonism to the League, and lastly that it resulted from the House of Lords having thrown out the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in

August, 1880. On examining the facts, however, we cannot accept any of these hypotheses.

With regard to these suggestions the character of the crime must be considered. We have pointed out that a large portion of the outrages were committed upon persons who had taken land from which others had been evicted, another large portion upon those who had paid their rent, and another upon those who had disobeyed other laws of the League. These three classes of crime were generally perpetrated by means of outrage committed at night, and which is ordinarily known by the term moonlighting. We also find that in many instances the pressure which began in boycotting culminated in outrage upon the person boycotted.

The Rev. Father O'Connor, the parish priest of Furies, county Kerry, called by the respondents, gave us upon cross-examination what we consider to be an accurate description of the object and nature of the moonlighter.

He said the origin of the moonlighting raids for arms was to be sought for in the determination of the people, especially of the young men of the district, to create such a feeling that no one would venture to take an evicted farm. That no doubt the taking of an evicted farm was lawful, but on the principle of doing unto others as you would they should do unto you the action of the land-grabber was not justifiable. The object of these raids was to cow anyone who might meditate land-grabbing; not only so, but it appeared to have been calculated upon that the knowledge that the moonlighters possessed arms would still further deter intending grabbers.

He told us that in the course of time the ranks of the moonlighters had been recruited by a class whose objects were different from those contemplated by the originators of the system. The new men had made use of the moon-

lighting system for the purpose of simple robbery, and had thus in some instances gone beyond the original intention, which was merely to intimidate intending land-grabbers.

The Commissioners then turned to the argument founded upon distress and eviction. They said:—

It was urged that the increased evictions, which in fact took place in the years 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882, had created fear in the minds of the tenants that the evictions of 1848 and subsequent periods were about to recur, and that the crime of 1880, 1881, and 1882, arose from this fear, and that to this and not to the agitation of the League was crime to be attributed.

We do not doubt that evictions and fear of eviction are contributory causes of agrarian crime, but the question for our consideration is whether these causes alone produced the crime which in fact existed in 1880, 1881, and 1882 in the west of Ireland

The increase of evictions which took place in and after 1879 is, in our judgment, accounted for by the fact that in the spring of 1879 the war against the landlords was commenced in Mayo and Galway, and thence, after August, 1880, spread through Ireland. Tenants everywhere, as the agitation proceeded, were exhorted not to pay their contract rent, to keep a firm grip upon their holdings, to bring the landlords to their knees; and were told if they would but do this they would be, as they in fact were, protected by the League. This exhortation was not limited in any way to those unable to pay their rent, but, on the contrary, the tenant who could pay, but refused to do so at the dictation of the League, was held up as the person to be applauded and followed by others.

That the landlords in such circumstances should oppose the League, and resort to the only weapon they had for

their protection, viz., eviction, is not to be wondered at, and in our judgment the increase in evictions, which began in 1879 and continued during subsequent years, was the result of the agitation against the landlords.

It was sought to liken the crime of 1880, 1881, 1882, to that which existed in the years following the great famine of 1846-48, but when the figures as to these years are examined, the analogy fails.

The year 1849 was the first year in which the statistics of eviction and crime respectively were first compiled. The figures are as follows:—

					Families evicted.		Agrarian crimes in Ireland.
For the four years	{	1849	...	...	16,686	...	957
		1850	...	...	19,949	...	1,362
		1851	...	...	13,147	...	1,013
		1852	...	...	8,591	...	913
Total ...					58,423	...	4,245
					Families evicted.		Agrarian crimes in Ireland.
For the four years	{	1879	...	...	1,238	...	863
		1880	...	...	2,110	...	2,589
		1881	...	...	3,415	...	4,439
		1882	...	...	5,201	...	3,432
Total ...					11,964	...	11,323

So that with 3415 families evicted in 1881 there was more agrarian crime (4439) than in all the four years together (1849-1852) with 58,423 families evicted.

As to the suggestion that the crime was caused by secret societies acting in antagonism to the Land League, Mr. Parnell, in the House of Commons, on the 7th of January, 1881, stated that secret societies had then ceased to exist in Ireland. Mr. Parnell was then alluding to secret societies other than that of the Fenian conspiracy, and in our judgment Mr. Parnell was accurate when he made that statement. Mr. M. Harris has also stated in

evidence that no secret societies except that of the Fenians then existed. We find no trace in the evidence of the League or of any of its chiefs or officers suggesting that the crime which existed was the act of any such societies. It appears to us that this suggestion was first made during this inquiry.

Mr. Loudon, when in the box, stated that the crime in his part of the country was perpetrated by a society called the Herds League, but upon cross-examination it appeared that he had no facts on which to base his assertion.

As to the third suggestion—viz., that the throwing out of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in August, 1880, was the origin of the increase of crime—we are of opinion that it was not the effective cause of that increase, but that it arose from the agitation of which the rejection of the Disturbance Bill was made the occasion.

It has been suggested that the decrease of crime which took place after July, 1882, was to be attributed to the conciliatory effect of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, which had become law on the 18th of April, 1882. We must remark, in answer to this suggestion, that the Land Act of 1881, which has been described by the counsel for the respondents as “the first Great Charter for the Irish tenant class,” had no such effect, and in our judgment the suggestion is not well founded.

Sir Charles Russell’s fourth head of charge is that no other cause has been or could be suggested for the crime in Ireland from and after 1879, except the agitation of the Land League and the speeches of its leaders. The question, however, as we have already observed, is not whether no other cause could be suggested, but whether the action of the leaders of the Land League agitation contributed to produce the increase of agrarian crime from 1879-1882, and on this point we find that the increase in agrarian

crime during those years, though not exclusively to be ascribed to the agitation, was mainly due to the action of the Land League, its founders, and leaders; and generally upon the fifth charge we find that the respondents did not directly incite persons to the commission of crime other than intimidation, but that they did incite to intimidation, and that the consequence of that incitement was that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited. We find that it was not proved that the respondents made payments for the purpose of inciting persons to commit crime.

Referring to the respondents doing nothing to prevent crime, the Commissioners quoted certain speeches having apparently that object; but they add:—In our judgment those denunciations were of little avail, because contemporaneously with them the leaders and organizers were carrying on the agitation by means of speeches and conduct tending to encourage crime. Mr. M. Harris told us that the denunciations of crime upon the platform would not have much effect because the people would think that it was “talking to the police, and that it was all gammon.”

Referring to the Land League taking no steps to aid in the detection of criminals, the Commissioners stated:—During the years 1880, 1881, and 1882, we cannot find that the League as an organization took any step whatever to aid in the detection of crime, or gave any directions for that purpose to its numerous branches throughout the country.

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These views lead to the result that in cases of agrarian crime evidence can rarely be obtained from those to whom the offenders are known. But when for want of untainted evidence that of informers is resorted to, the police and

even the Government are denounced as seeking by worthless testimony to take the lives of innocent men. Thus a vicious circle is established. To make the police acquainted with the name of a criminal is to become an informer; to become an informer is base, and the evidence of such a person is untrustworthy and ought not to be used. And thus impunity is secured for the guilty.

Mr. M. Harris said in his evidence that "if you assist in the smallest degree in the detection of a criminal connected with this agrarian crime, you would cease there and then to have the slightest public influence in Ireland. If Mr. Parnell were to give information of the humblest peasant in the county of Galway he would cease to be a leader of the Irish people on the spot."

We find on this allegation that, while some of the respondents, and in particular Mr. Davitt, did express *bond fide* disapproval of crime and outrage, the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect.

The Commissioners found that the respondents did defend prisoners charged with agrarian crime, and supported their families.

Referring to the Land League accounts, the Commissioners, after quoting some figures, report:—Mr. Parnell stated in evidence that this audit was only of the moneys received by Egan and paid over by Egan in Paris to the Land League; and that there had never been any audit of the Land League expenditure at all.

Of the item of £148,000 above-mentioned on the expenditure side, about £40,000 has been accounted for in the evidence before us; of the remaining £108,000 over £70,000 went to the Ladies' Land League. No account has been given in evidence of the expenditure of the

money handed over to the Ladies' Land League, or of the residue of the £108,000.

We have information from Mr. Davitt of a book called the Book of Kells, kept by the Ladies' Land League. Neither this book nor any other book of the Ladies' Land League has been produced.

Thus we have over £100,000 of Land League funds received, but no details of the manner in which it was expended.

It is proved that the books and documents of the Land League were numerous and bulky. Mr. Davitt speaks of "thousands of letters." Farrigher, the clerk of the Land League, deposes to books and letters taken in a van. Phillips speaks of a sackfull of letters every morning, and indeed, when we consider the enormous amount of business transacted, the staff of clerks kept, and the large sums of money spent, it is obvious that there must have been numbers of books and documents which, if they had been produced, would have thrown light on the nature of the Land League proceedings. We have been unable to obtain these documents, and no valid excuse has been given for their non-production.

The books which have been produced before us by the respondents are four small books which Mr. Moloney states he always kept in his possession, and which were left behind in Ireland at the time of the general removal of the books in October, 1881. We were informed that the books of the National Bank containing the entries for the years down to 1883 had been destroyed by the bank officials in March, 1889, according to their usual course of business.

We have also to observe on the non-production of the cash books and ledgers for the years 1881-83 of the Land League of Great Britain, of which Frank Byrne was the then secretary.

Mr. Justin M'Carthy, M.P., in an affidavit he made on the 9th of October, 1888, stated that he had obtained a list of the books relating to this League, and which he was willing should be produced. This list had been furnished to him by Mr. Brady, the secretary of the English branch of the National League.

During the progress of the case the production of these cash books and ledgers for the years 1881 to 1883 proved to be of importance. When called for, Mr. Justin M'Carthy was unable to produce them, and was unable to explain the reason for their non-production. Mr. G. Lewis, the solicitor for the respondents, stating that a mistake had been made in the affidavit. Mr. Brady was in Court, but was not called, and how and in what way the suggested mistake arose, if any did arise, has never been explained, nor have the books for 1881-83 been produced.

In the course of the enquiry into the accounts of the League it appeared that after February, 1881, Egan kept an account in Paris at the bank of Messrs. Monro and Co. We appointed a Commission to examine the books in Paris, but Messrs. Monro declined to allow them to be seen, and as they were not subject to our jurisdiction the Commission was without result. We therefore requested Mr. Parnell to give authority to Messrs. Monro to produce the accounts relating to the Land League. This he refused to do. We have therefore been deprived of evidence upon the question how the moneys of the Land League were expended in the years 1881 and 1882.

On this subject we may say generally that we have not received from Mr. Parnell and the officers of the Land League the assistance we were entitled to expect in the investigation of the Land League accounts, in order that it might be seen how its funds were expended.

The Commissioners considered that the National League

formed in October, 1882, like the Ladies' Land League, was substantially the old Land League under another name.

Referring to the Clan-na-Gael again the Commissioners report:—We are of opinion that the evidence proves that the Irish National League of America has been since the Philadelphia Convention, April 25th, 1883, directed by the Clan-na-Gael, a body actively engaged in promoting the use of dynamite for the destruction of life and property in England. It has been further proved that while the Clan-na-Gael controlled and directed the Irish National League of America the two organizations concurrently collected sums amounting to more than £60,000 for a fund called the Parliamentary Fund, out of which payments have been made to Irish Members of Parliament, amounting in the year 1886 to £7,556, and in 1887 to £10,500. It has not, however, been proved that Mr. Parnell or any of the respondents knew that the Clan-na-Gael had obtained the control over the Irish National League of America, or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund, and the circulars of that body, as well as the evidence of Le Caron, show that their operations were secret. But though it has not been proved that Mr. Parnell and the other respondents knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League, or that the Clan-na-Gael was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund, it has been proved that they invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the physical force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and in order to obtain that assistance, abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party. It has also been proved that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation, and accepted subscriptions from Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite.

CONCLUSION.

THUS, after perusing this Report, the verdict of the public is that, speaking generally, the "Times" was perfectly justified in its charges.

The one object of the "Times" was to suppress the awful tyranny which reigned in Ireland by the action of lawless men, and the report of the Commissioners is to this effect:—

That the intention of the Respondents was to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation.

That the Respondents did enter into a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords.

That the Respondents did disseminate papers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of other crime.

That the Respondents did incite to intimidation, and that the consequence of that incitement was that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited.

That the Respondents did not denounce the

system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with a knowledge of its effect.

That the Respondents defended persons charged with agrarian crime, and supported their families.

That the Respondents made payments to compensate persons who had been injured in the commission of crime.

That the Respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of and accepted subscriptions of money from known advocates of crime and the use of dynamite, and that they invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the physical force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael.

Whatever was not proved, these things *were* proved, and they form a fearful and tremendous charge against any man, or body of men, for they practically amount to the charge of

TREASON

AND

INCITEMENT TO CRIME

against several of the Respondents.

Thus the "Times" has been justified in its

patriotic labours, and has received, as it deserved, the gratitude of all loyal persons.

The "Times" has, in a sense, saved Ireland. By its continuous efforts the Government has been at length aroused to decisive and persistent action—and, as a result, many cruel murders have been prevented—the long-continued series of appalling crimes has been largely restrained; homes have been spared to honest and industrious workers, and a foul and wicked conspiracy has been exposed, and, in a great measure, suppressed.

When Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen look back upon the events of the past ten years in Ireland, and realise the terror that has reigned—that honest men have lost their freedom, that inhuman atrocities and murders have been constantly committed—they are stirred to the conclusion that, cost what it may, the law must be as fully enforced, and the lawless punished, equally in Ireland as in England, Scotland, and Wales.

The firm action of Lord Salisbury's Government, as administered by Mr. Balfour, is restoring confidence, and, with confidence, prosperity in that hitherto unhappy country; and

if this policy is persevered in—if the dense ignorance and superstition of multitudes of the poorest of the people is superseded by education, and if the principle of the Ashbourne Act is extended—the occupation of the agitators will be gone, and Ireland will, in the future, be a country of peace and contentment in a degree which, in no past age, has she ever experienced.

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